The true and lively portraiture
of the honourable and learned Knight
Sr. Walter Ralegh.

AMORE ET VIRTUTE

Edward Pare precium 12

THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH AND BEVVTIFVL EMPIRE OF GVIANA, WITH

a relation of the Great and Golden City *of* Manoa (*which the spaniards call* El *Dorado*) And the prouinces of *Emeria*, *Arromaia*, *Amapaia* and other Countries, with their riuers, adioyning

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir *W. Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her *Maiesties Guard*, *Lo. Warden* of the Stannaries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

Rawlaber

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1596.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY *ſingular good Lord and kinſman,* *Charles Howard,* knight of the Garter, *Barron, and Counceller, and of the Admiralls of England the moſt renowmed*: And to the Right Honorable *Sr Robert Cecyll* Knight, Councellor in her Highnes priuie Councels.

FOR your Honors many Honorable and friendlie partes, I haue hitherto only returned promiſes; and nowe for anſwere of both your aduentures, I haue ſent you a bundle of papers which I haue deuided betweneyour Lo. & Sr Robert Cecyl in theſe two reſpectes chiefly: Firſt for that it is reaſon, that waſtful factors, when they haue conſumed ſuch ſtockes, as they had in truſt, doe yeeld ſome cullor for the ſame in their account, ſecondly for that I am aſſured that whatſoeuer ſhalbe done, or written by me, ſhall neede

a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me still presume that you wil be pleased (knowing what little power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forwarned enimies) to answere that out of knowledge, which others shall but obiect out of malice. In my more happie times as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loues sought me out in the darkest shadow of aduersitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my manie miseries: all which though I cannot requite, yet I shal euer acnkowledge: and the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can doe no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they haue yeelded verie grieuous effects, and if ought might haue been deserued in former times to haue counterpoysed any part of offences, the frute thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, Vndertake these trauels, fitter for boies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby if it were possible I might recouer but the moderation of excesse, and the least tast of the

greatest

greateſt plentie formerly poſſeſſed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I coulde conceiue what farther meanes I might yet vſe, but euen to appeaſe ſo powereſull diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one yeare more to holde faſt my ſoule in my teeth, til it were performed. Of that little remaine I had, I haue waſted in effect al herein, I haue vndergone many conſtructiõs, I haue been accompanyed with many ſorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, ſicknes, & peril: It appeareth notwithſtand that I made no other brauado of going to ſea, then was ment, and that I was neither hidden in cornwell or elſe where, as was ſuppoſed. They haue groſly belied me, that foreiudged that I wolde rather become a ſeruant to the Spaniſh king, thē return, & the reſt were much miſtaken, who woulde haue perſwaded, that I was too eaſeful & ſenſuall to vndertake a iorney of ſo great trauel. But, if what I haue done receiue the gratious conſtruction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhall thinke all too little, and that there were wanting to the reſt, many miſeries: But if both the times paſt, the preſent, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in an eternall diſtaſt, I doe not then knowe whether I ſhould bewaile my ſelfe either for my too much trauel

and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserue nothing. From my selfe I haue deserued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honor, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picorie, and it had sorted ill with the offices of Honor, which by her maiesties grace, I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, & from place to place, for the pillage of ordinarie prizes. Many yeares since, I had knowledge by relatiõ, of that mighty, rich, and beawtifull Empire of Guiana, and of that great and Golden Citie, which the Spanyards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperor of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pazaro and others conquered the saide Empire, from his two elder brethren Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being fauoured by the Oreiones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my seruant Iacob VVhiddon the yeer before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker sometime my seruant, and nowe attending

on

on your Lo. that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, *or* Guanipa: *but I found that it was* 600. *miles farther off, then they supposed, and manie other impediments to them vnknowne and vnheard. After I had displanted* Don Anthonio de Berreo, *who was vpon the same enterprize, leauing my ships at* Trinedado, *at the port called* Curiapan, *I wandred* 400. *miles, into the said countrey by land and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of Gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the* Indies, *or* Peru: *All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Maesties vassals: & seeme to desire nothing more then her Maesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another grounde and assurance of riches & glory, then the voiages of the west* Indies, *& an easier way to inuade the best parts ther of, then by the common course. The king of* Spaine *is not so impouerished by taking* 3 *or* 4 *port townes in* America *as we suppose, neither are the riches of* Peru, or Nueua Espania *so left by the sea side, as it can be easily washt away, with a great flood, or springtide, or left drie vpon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The port townes are few and poore in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are onely rich*

When the fleets are to receiue the treaſure for ſpaine: And we might thinke the ſpaniards verie ſimple hauing ſo manie horſes and ſlaues, that if they coulde not vpon two daies warning, carrie all the Golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our footmen eſpeciallie the Indies *being (as it is for the moſt part) ſo mountainous, ſo full of woods, riuers, and mariſhes. In the port townes of the prouince of* Venſuello, *as* Cumana, Coro, *and* S. Iago (*whereof* Coro *and* S. Iago *were taken by Captaine* Preſton *and* Cumana *and* S. Ioſephus *by vs*) *we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of* Barquaſimeta, Valentia, S. Sebaſtian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Allegu na, Mrecabo, *and* Truxillo, *are not ſo eaſely inuaded: neither doth the burning of thoſe on the coaſt impoueriſh the king of ſpayne anie one ducket, and if we ſacke the riuer of* Hache, S. Marta, *and* Cartagena, *which are the portes of* Nueuo reyno *and* Popayan. *There are beſides within the land which are indeed rich and populous, the townes and Cities of* Merida, Lagrita, S. Chriſtofero, *the great Cities of* Pampelone, S. Fede Bogota, Tunia *and* Mozo *where the* Eſmeralds *are founde, the townes and Cities of* Morequito, velis, la villa de Leua, Palma, vnda, Anguſtura, *the greate Citie*

of

of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Paſto, Iuago, *the great city of* Popaian *it ſelfe*, Los Remedios *and the reſt. If we take the ports and villages within the bay* Vraba *in the kingdome or riuers of* Dariena, *and* Caribana, *the cities and townes of S.* Iuan de Roydas, *of* Caſſaris, *of* Anteocha, Carramanta, *Cali, and* Auſerma *haue golde enough to pay the King part, and are not eaſily inuaded by the way of the* Ocean *or if* Nombre de Dios *and* Panama *be taken in the prouince of* Caſtillo de oro, *and the villages vpon the riuers of* Cenu *and* Chagre. Peru *hath beſides thoſe and beſides the magnificent cities of* Quito *and* Lima *ſo many* Ilands, *portes, Cities, and mines, as if I ſhould name thē with the reſt, it would ſeeme incredible to the reader: of all which becauſe I haue written a particuler treatiſe of the weſt* Indies, I *will omit their repetition at this time, ſeing that in the ſaide treatiſe I haue anatomized the reſt of the ſea townes as well of* Nicaragna, Iucata, Nueua Eſpanna, *and the Ilands, as thoſe of the* Inland, *and by what meanes they may be beſt inuaded, as farre as any meane* Iudgement *can comprehend. But* I *hope it ſhall appeare that there is a way found to anſwere euerie mans longing, a better Indies for her maieſtie then the King of Spain hath any, which if it ſhall pleaſe her highnes to vndertake,*

I shall most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same: If it be left to the spoyle and sackage of common persons, if the loue and seruice of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mighty an Empyre refused, I hope her Maiestie will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part, which if it had not beene in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, I could haue laid hãds & ransomed many of the kings & Cassiqui *of the Country, & haue had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption: But I haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second trauel & the chaunces therof, thẽ to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, vntill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royall heart either to follow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath onely power in al things, and do humblie pray that your honors will excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part, the following discourse, in which I haue neither studied praise, frome, nor fashion, and that you will be pleased to esteeme me as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I shall euer remaine ready to doe you all honour and seruice.*

W: R.

Ecauſe there haue beene diuers opinions conceiued of the gold oare brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of London and an officer of her maieſties minte, hath giuen out that the ſame is of no price, I haue thought good by the addition of theſe lines to giue anſwere as well to the ſaid malicious ſlaunder, as to other obiectiõs. It is true that while we abode at the Iland of *Trinedado*, I was informed by an indian, that not farre from the Port, where we ancored, there were founde certaine minerall ſtones which they eſteemed to be gold, and were thereunto perſwaded the rather for that they had ſeene both Engliſh, and French men gather, and imbarque ſome quantities thereof: vpon this likly-hoode I ſent 40. men & gaue order that each one ſhould bring a ſtone of that mine, to make triall of the goodneſſe, which be ing performed, I aſſured them at their returne that the ſame was *Marcaſite*, and of no riches or value : Notwithſtanding diuers truſting more to their owne ſence, then to my opinion. kept of the ſaide *Marcaſite*, and haue tried thereof ſince my returne, in diuers places. In *Guiana* it ſelfe I neuer ſawe *Marcaſite*, but all the rocks, mountaines, all ſtones in the plaines, in woodes, and by the riuers ſide are in effect thorow ſhining, and appeare marueylous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcaſite*, are the trew ſignes of rich minerals, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the *S*panyards terme them) which is the mother of golde, or as it is ſaide by others the ſcum of Gold; of diuers ſortes of theſe many of my companie brought alſo into England, euery one taking the fayreſt for the beſt, which is not generall. For mine owne parte, I did not countermand any mans deſire, or opinion, & I could haue a

forded them little if I ſhoulde haue denied them the pleaſing of their owne fancies therein: But I was reſolued that golde muſt be found either in graines ſeparate frō the ſtone (as it is in moſt of the riuers in *Guiana*) or elſe in a kinde of harde ſtone, which we cal the white *Sparre*, of which I ſaw diuers hils, & in ſundrie places, but had neither time, nor men, nor inſtruments fit to labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I founde of the ſaide white *Sparre* or flint a verie great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the means I could, becauſe there appeared on the out ſide ſome ſmal graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the ſame vpon the vpper part, ſeeking the ſides and circuit of the ſaid rock, I founde a clift in the ſame from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we gotte out ſome ſmall quantitie therof, of which kind of white ſtone (wherein gold in gendreth) we ſawe diuers hils and rocks in euery part of *Guiana*, wherein we trauelled. Of this there hath beene made many trialls, and in London, it was firſt aſſaide by Maſter *Weſtwood* a refiner dwelling in wood-ſtreet, and it helde after the rate 12000 or 13000 poundes a tunne. Another ſort was afterward tried by Maſter *Bulmar* & Maſter *Dimocke* aſſay maſter, & it held after the rate of 23000 poundes a tunne. There was ſome of it againe tried by Maſter *Palmar* comptrollor of the minte, & *Maſter Dimocke* in gold ſmiths hall, and it helde after 26900 pounds a tun. There was alſo at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons a triall made of the duſt of the ſaid mine which held 8. pound 6. ounces weight of gold, in the hundred: there was likewiſe at the ſame time a triall made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third part gold, beſides diuers trialls made in the countrey, and by others in London. But becauſe there came of ill with the good, and belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, it hath pleaſed him therefore to ſcandall the reſt, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lyeth. It hath alſo been concluded by diuers, that if there had been any ſuch oare in *Guiana*, and the ſame diſcouered, that

I woulde haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bounde to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such onely as aduentured, if any store had been returned thereof: but it is verie true that had all their mountaines beene of massie Golde, it was impossible for vs to haue made anie longer stay to haue wrought the same: and whosoeuer hath seene with what strength of stone, the best golde oare is inuironed, he will not thinke it easie to be had out in heapes, and especially by vs who had neither men, instrumentes, nor time (as it is saide before) to performe the same: There were on this discouerie, no lesse then 100 personnes, who can all witnesse, that when we past any braunch of the riuer to vewe the land within, and staied from our boates but six houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to forde it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither bote nor man could finde place, either to land or to imbarque: for in June, Iuly, August and September, it is impossible to nauigate any of those riuers, for such is the furie of the *Current*, and there are so many trees and woodes ouerflowne, as if anie boat but touch vppon any tree or stake, it is impossible to saue any one person therein: and ere we departed the land it ran with that swiftnes, as we draue downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse then one hundred miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboate, and a bad Galiota, which wee framed in hast for that purpose at *Trinedado*, and those little boates had nyne or ten men apeece, with all their victuals, and arms. It is further true, that wee were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly mande in an open roade, and had promised our return in 15 daies. Others haue deuised that the same oare was had from barbery, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: surely

the ſingularitie of that deuice, I do not well comprehend, for mine owne part, I am not ſo much in loue with theſe long voi ages as to deuiſe thereby to cozen my ſelf eto lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubiected to perils, to diſeaſes, to ill ſauours, to be parched and withered, and withall to ſuſtaine the care and labour of ſuch an enterprize, excepte the ſame had more cõfort, then the fetching of *Marcaſite* in *Guiana*, or bying of gold oar in Barbery. But I hope the better ſort will iudge me by themſelues, & that the way of deceipt, is not the way of honor or good opiniõ: I haue herein conſumed much time, and many crowns, & I had no other reſpect or deſire thẽ to ſerue her maieſtie & my Countrie thereby. If the ſpaniſh natiõ had been of like beleefe to theſe detractors, we ſhould little haue feared or doubted their attempts, where with we now are daily threatned. But if we now cõſider of the actiõs both of *Charls* the fift, who had the Madenheade of *Peru* & the abundant treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the ſpaniſh king now liuing, what territories he hath purchaſed, what he hath added to the acts of his predeceſſors, how many kingdoms he hath indaungered, how many armies, garriſons, & nauies, he hath & doth maintaine, the great loſſes which he hath repaired, as in 88 aboue 100 ſayle of great ſhippes with their artillery, and that no yere is leſſe vnfortunate but that many veſſels, treaſurs & people are deuoured, & yet not withſtanding he beginneth againe like a ſtorme to threaten ſhipwracke to vs all, we ſhall finde that theſe abilities riſe not from the trades of ſackes, and Ciuil Orenges nor frõ ought elſe that either ſpain, Portugal, or any of his other prouinces produce: It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and diſturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaſeth intelligence, creepeth into Councels, and ſetteth bound loyaltie at liberty in the greateſt *Mo*narchies of Europ. If the ſpaniſh king can keep vs from forraine enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuaſion, or by beſeiging vs in brittayne, Ireland, or elſe where, he hath then brought the worke of our perill in greate forwardnes.

wardnes. Thoſe princes which abound in treaſure haue great aduantages ouer the reſt, if they once conſtraine them to a defenſiue warre, where they are driuen once a yeare or oftner to caſt lots for their owne garments, & from ſuch ſhall al trades, & entercourſe be taken away to the general loſſe & impouerishmēt of the kingdom, & cōmon weale ſo reduced: beſides whē men are conſtrained to fight, it hath not the ſame hope as whē they are preſt & incouraged by the deſire of ſpoyle & riches. Farther it is to be doubted how thoſe that in time of victory ſeem to affect their neighbour natiōs, wil remaine after the firſt view of miſſortunes, or il ſucceſſe; to truſt alſo to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a feareful & vncertaine aduenture ſeeing therin fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It ſhall not be neceſſary to alleage all that might be ſaid, and therefore I wil thus conclude, that whatſoeuer kingdom ſhalbe inforced to defend it ſelfe, may be compared to a body daungerouſly diſeaſed, which for a ſeaſon may be preſerued with vulgar medicines, but in a ſhort time, and by little and little, the ſame muſt needes fall to the ground, and be diſſolued. I haue therefore laboured al my life, both according to my ſmal power, & perſwaſiō, to aduance al thoſe attempts that might eyther promiſe return of profit to our ſelues, or at leaſt be a let & impeachment to the quiet courſe, & plentiful trades of the *Spaniſh* nation, who in my weake iudgement by ſuch a war were as eaſily indaungered and brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince in Europe, if it be conſidered from how many kingdoms and nations his reuenews are gathered, and thoſe ſo weake in their owne beings, and ſo farre ſeuered from mutuall ſuccor. But becauſe ſuch a preparation & reſolution is not to be hoped for in haſt, and that the time which our enimies embrace, can not be had againe to aduantage, I will hope that theſe prouinces, and that Empyre now by me diſcouered ſhall ſuffice to inable her maieſty, and the whole kingdome, with no leſſe quantities of treaſure, then the king of Spayne hath in all the Indies, eaſt and weſt, which he poſſeſſeth, which if the ſame be conſidered and followed, ere the Spanyards, enforce the ſame, &

if her *M*aieſty will vndertake it, I wilbe contented to loſe her highnes fauor and good opinion for euer, and my life withal, if the ſame be not found rather to exceede, thē to equal what ſoeuer is in this diſcourſe promiſed or declared. I will nowe referre the reader to the following diſcourſe with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labors and indeuours of ſuch as thereby ſeeke the profit and honor of her *M*aieſty, and the Engliſh nation, ſhall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue ſuch conſtruction, and good acceptance, as themſelues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W: R

THE DISCOVERIE OF GVIANA.

ON Thurſday the 6. of Februarie in the yeare 1595. we departed *England*, and the ſunday following had ſight of the North cape of *Spayne*, the winde for the moſt part continuing proſperous: wee paſſed in ſight of the *Burlings*, and the rocke and ſo onwardes for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Fuerte ventura* the 17. of the ſame moneth, where we ſpent two or three daies, and relieued our companies with ſome freſh meate. From thence we coaſted by the *Gran Canaria*, and ſo to *Tenerife*, and ſtayed there for the Lyons whelpe your Lordſhips ſhip, and ſo for Captain *Amys Preſton* & the reſt: But when after 7. or 8. daies we found them not, wee departed and directed our courſe for *Trinedado* with mine owne ſhippe, and a ſmal barke of Captaine *Croſſes* onely (for we had before loſt ſight of a ſmal Gallego on the coaſt of *Spayne*, which came with vs from *Plymmouth*:) wee arriued at *Trinedado* the 22. of March, caſting ancour at pointe *Curiapan*, which the Spaniards cal *punto de Gallo*, which is ſituate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. daies, and in all that time we came not to the,

ſpeach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coaſt we ſaw a fire, as we ſailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for feare of the Spaniards, none durſt come to ſpeake with vs. I my ſelfe coaſted in my barge cloſe aborde the ſhore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the Iland, while the ſhips kept the chanell. From *Curiapan* after a fewe daies we turned vp Northeaſt to recouer that place which the Spaniardes call *puerto de los Hiſpanioles*, and the inhabitants *Conquorabia*, and as before (reuictualing my borge) I left the ſhippes and kept by the ſhore, the better to come to ſpeach with ſome of the inhabitantes, and alſo to vnderſtand the riuers, watring places and portes of the Iland which (as it is rudely done) my purpoſe is to ſend your Lordſhip after a fewe daies. From *Curiapan* I came to a port & ſeat of Indians called *Parico* where we founde a freſh-water riuer, but ſawe no people. From thence I rowed to another porte, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniardes *Tierra de Brea*: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of freſh water & one ſalt riuer that had ſtore of oiſters vpon the branches of the trees, and were very ſalt & well taſted. Al their oiſters grow vpon thoſe boughs and ſpraies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly ſeene in the Weſt Indies and elſe where. This tree is deſcribed by *Andrewe Thenet* in his french *Antartiqua*, and the forme figured in the booke as a plante verie ſtraunge, and by *Plinie* in his XII. booke of his naturall hiſtorie. But in this Ilande, alſo in *Guiana* there are verie manie of them.

As this point called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche* there is that

that abundance of ſtone pitch, that all the ſhips of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made triall of it in trimming our ſhips to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the ſunne as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ſhips trading the ſouth partes very profitable. From thence we went to the mountaine foote called *Annaperima*, and ſo paſſing the riuer *Carone* on which the ſpaniſh Citie was ſeated, we met with our ſhips at *puerto de los Hiſpantoles* or *Conquerabia*.

This Iland of *Trinedado* hath the forme of a ſheephooke, and is but narrow, the north part is very mounteynous, the ſoyle is very excellent and wil beare ſuger, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yeeld. It hath ſtore of deare, wilde porkes, fruts, fiſh and fowle: It hath al ſo for breade ſufficient *Mais*, *Caſſaui*, and of thoſe rootes & fruits which are common euerywhere in the weſt *Indies*. It hath diuers beaſtes, which the *Indies* haue not: the ſpaniards cõfeſſed that they founde grains of gold in ſome of the riuers, but they hauing a purpoſe to enter *Guiana* (the *Magazin* of all rich mettels) cared not to ſpend time in the ſearch thereof any farther. This *Iland* is called by the people therof *Cairi*, and in it are diuers nations: thoſe about *Parico* are called *Iaio*, thoſe at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and betweeene *Carao* & *Curiadan* they are called *Saluaios*, betweene *Carao* and *Punto Gallera* are the *Nepoios*, & thoſe about the ſpaniſh city tearme themſelues *Carinepagotos*: Of the reſt of the nations, and of other portes and riuers I leaue to ſpeake heere, beeing impertinent to my purpoſe, and meane to deſcribe them as they are ſituate in the particular plot and deſcription

of the Iland, three partes whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at *puerto de los Hispanioles*, we founde at the landing place a company of Spaniardes who kept a gard at the descente, and they offering a signe of peace I sent captaine *Whiddon* to speake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the said Iland after my returne from *Guiana* beeing a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniardes seemed to be desirous to trade with vs, and to enter into tearms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength then for ought else, and in the ende vpon pledge, some of them came abroad: the same euening there stale also abord vs in a small *Canoa* two Indians, the one of them being a *Casique* or Lord of the people called *Cantyman*, who had the yeare before beene with Captaine *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman*, wee vnderstood what strength the Spanyardes had, how farre it was to the Citie, and of *Don Anthonio de Berreo* the gouernour, who was said to be slaine in the second attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *puerto de los Hispanioles* some Spaniardes came aborde vs to buy lynnen of the company, and such other thinges as they wanted, but also to view our shippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner, by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers hauing beene many yeares without wine, a fewe draughtes made them merry, in which mood they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the waies and passages, my selfe

ſelfe ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſſe then the enterance or diſcouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the reliefe of thoſe engliſh, which I had plainted in *Virginia*, whereof the brute was come among them, which I had performed in my returne if extremity of weather had not forſt me from the ſaid coaſt.

I found occaſions of ſtaying in this place for two cauſes: the one was to be reuenged of *Berreo*, who the yeare before betraied 8. of Captaine *Whiddons* men, & tooke them while he departed from them to ſeeke the *E. Bonauenture*, which arriued at *Trinedado* the day before from the Eaſt *Indies*: in whoſe abſence *Berreo* ſent a *Canoa* abord the pinnace only with *Indians* & dogs inuiting the company to go with them into the wods to kil a dear, who like wiſe men in the abſence of their Captaine followed the *Indians* but were no ſooner one harquebuſh ſhot from the ſhore, but *Berreos* ſouldiers lying in ambuſh had them al, notwithſtanding that he had giuen his worde to Captaine *Whiddon* that they ſhould take water and wood ſafely: the other cauſe of my ſtay was, for that by diſcourſe with the *Spanyards* I dayly learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the riuers and paſſages, and of the enterprize of *Berreo*, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

While we thus ſpent the time I was aſſured by another *Caſique* of the north ſide of the Iland, that *Berreo* had ſent to *Marguerita* & to *Cumana* for ſouldiers meaning to haue giuen me a *Caſſado* at parting, if it had bin poſſible. For although he had giuen order through al the Iland that no *Indian* ſhould come aboard to trade

with me vpon paine of hanging and quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the ſame which I after wardes found) yet euerie night there came ſome with moſt lamẽtable complaints of his cruelty, how he had deuided the Iland & giuen to euery ſoldier a part, that he made the ancient *Caſſiqui* which were Lords of the countrie to be their ſlaues, that he kept them in chains & dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, & ſuch other torments, which I found afterwards to bee true: for in the citie after I entred the ſame, there were 5. of the Lords or little kings (which they call *Caſiqui* in the weſt Indies) in one chaine almoſt dead of famin & waſted with torments: theſe are called in their own lenguage *Acarwana*, and nowe of late ſince Engliſh, French, & Spaniſh are come among them, they call themſelues *Capitanes*, becauſe they perceiue that the chiefeſt of euery ſhip is called by that name. Thoſe 5. *Capitaines* in the chaine were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*: *Tarroopanama*, & *Aterima*. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter *Guiana* by ſmall boats, to depart 400 or 500. miles from my ſhips, and to leaue a garriſon in my backe interreſſed in the ſame enterprize, who alſo daily expected ſupplies out of *Spaine*, I ſhould haue ſauored very much of the Aſſe: and therefore taking a time of much aduãtage, I ſet vpon the *Corp du guard* in the euening, and hauing put them to the ſword, ſent Captain *Calfield* onwards with 60. ſoldiers, & my ſelfe followed with 40. more & ſo toke ther new city which they called S. *Ioſeph*, by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a few ſhot, & al being diſmiſſed but only *Berreo* & his companion, I brought thẽ with me abord,

bord, and at the instance of the Indians, I set their new Citie of *S. Iosephs* on fire.

The same day arriued Captaine *George Gifford* with your Lordships ship, & Captaine *Keymis* whom *I* lost on the coast of *Spayne*, with the *Gallego*, and in them diuers Gent. and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discouerie, & first I called all the Captaines of the Iland together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for ther were som which *Berreo* had brought out of other countries, & planted there to eat out & wast those that wer natural of the place, & by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderstand that *I* was the seruant of a Queene, who was the great *Casique* of the North, and a virgin, and had more *Casiqui* vnder her then there were trees in that *Iland*: that shee was an enemy to the *Castelani* in respect of their tyranny and oppression and that she deliuered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, & hauing freed al the coast of the northen world from their seruitude had sent me to free them also & with all to defend the countrey of *Guiana* from their inuasion and conqueſt. *I* shewed them her maiesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had beene easi to haue brought them *I* dolatrous thereof.

The like & a more large discourse *I* made to the rest of the natiõs both in my passing to *Guiana*, & to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world hir maiesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now cal *Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princesse or greatest commander.

This done wee left *puerto de los Hiſpanioles*,, and returned to *Curiapan*, and hauing *Berreo* my priſonour *I* gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as hee knewe.

This *Berreo* is a gent. well deſcended, and had long ſerued the Spaniſh king in *Millan*, *Naples*, the lowe Countries and elſewhere, verie valiant & liberal, and a Gent. of great aſſurednes, and of great heart: I vſed him according to his eſtate and worth in al things I could, according to the ſmall meanes I had.

I ſent Captain *Whiddon* the yeare before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the end of my iorney at this time was to diſcouer & enter the ſame, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the country is ſituate aboue 600. Engliſh miles further from the ſea, then I was made beleeue it had been, which afterward vnderſtanding to be true by *Berreo*, I kept it from the knowledge of my companie, who elſe woulde neuer haue beene brought to attempt the ſame, of which 600. miles I paſſed 400. leauing my ſhippes ſo farre from me at ancor in the ſea, which was more of deſire to performe that diſcouery, then of reaſō, eſpecially hauing ſuch poore & weake veſſels to tranſport our ſelues in; for in the bottom of an old *Gallego* which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a Galley, & in one barge, two wherries, and a ſhip bote of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. perſons and their victuals for a moneth in the ſame, being al driuen to lie in the raine & weather, in the open aire, in the burning ſun, & vpon the hard bords, and to dreſſe our meate, and to cary al maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtred & vnſauery, that what with victualls being moſt fiſh,

with

with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together and the heate of the sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any prison in England, that coulde be founde more vnsauory and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeares before beene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

If Captaine *Preston* had not beene perswaded that he should haue come too late to *Trinedado* to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tary for him there ere he could recouer the coast of Spayne) but that it had pleased God he might haue ioyned with vs, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten daies sooner ere the riuers were ouerflowen, we had aduentured either to haue gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to fauour me at this time: if it shalbe my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall performe more then euer was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Paraco*, whereof the one conquered the Empyre of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar*, and *Atabalipa*, and whatsoeuer Prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lorde of more gold, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the kinge of Spayne, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubtes, and how this Empyre of *Guiana* is become so populous, and adorned with so many greate Cities, Townes, Temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it

knowen, that the Emperor now raigning is deſcended from thoſe magnificent Princes of *Peru* of whoſe large territories, of whoſe pollicies, conqueſts, edifices, and riches *Pedro de Cieza*, *Franciſco Lopez*, and others haue written large diſcourſes: for when *Franciſco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the ſaid Empyre of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa* ſonne to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly cauſed his eldeſt brother *Guaſcar* to be ſlaine, one of the yonger ſonnes of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and tooke with him many thouſandes of thoſe ſouldiers of the Empyre called *Oreiones*, and with thoſe and many others which followed him, he vanquiſhed al that tract and valley of *America* which is ſituate betweene the greate riuer of *Amazones*, and *Baraquan*, otherwiſe called *Oreноke* and *Maranion*.

The Empyre of *Guiana* is directly eaſt from *Peru* towards the ſea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctiall line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any parte of *Peru*, and as many or moe greate Cities then euer *Peru* had when it flouriſhed moſt: it is gouerned by the ſame lawes, and the Emperour and people obſerue the ſame religion, and the ſame forme and pollicies in gouernment as was vſed in *Peru*, not differing in any part: and as I haue beene aſſured by ſuch of the *Spanyardes* as haue ſeene *Manoa* the imperiall Citie of *Guiana*, whichthe *Spanyards* cal *El Dorado*, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent ſeate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at leaſt of ſo much of the world as is knowen to the ſpaniſh nation: it is founded vpon a lake of ſalt water of 200. leagues long like vnto *mare caſpiũ*. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, & but

read

read the report of *Francisco Lopez* & others, it wil seem more then credible, and because we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. chapter of *Lopez* in his general historie of the *Indies*, wherin he describeth the court and magnificence of *Guynacapa*, aunceſtor to the Emperour of *Guiana*. whose very wordes are these. *Todo el seruicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aues, arboles: y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y arguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no auia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuuiesse de oro contrahecha y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en vna Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allẽde de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad deplata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron viendo que los espanioles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espania*

That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of Gold and Siluer, and the meaneſt of siluer & copper for strength and hardneſſe of mettal. He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. *Hee* had also ropes, budgets, cheſtes and troughs of golde and siluer, heapes of billets of gold that seemed woode,

marked out to burne. Finally there was nothing in his countrey, wherof he had not the counterfeat in gold. Yea and they say, The *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an Iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselues, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers & trees of Gold and siluer, an inuention, & magnificence til then neuer seene. Besides all this, hee had an infinite quantity of siluer and gold vnwrought in *Cuzco* which was lost by the death of *Guascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the *Spaniards* tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. Chapter *Francisco Picarro* caused the Goulde and Siluer of *Atabalipa* to bee weyed, after hee had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth downe in these wordes following.

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mill marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, which is: They founde fiftie and two thousande markes of good siluer, and one million, and three hundred twentie and six thousand and fiue hundred pesoes of golde.

Now although these reportes may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dailie brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easelie beleeue the same, for wee finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the *Spanish* King vexeth all the *Princes* of Europe, and is become in a fewe yeares from a poore king of *Castile* the greatest monarke of this parte of the worlde, and likelie euerie day to increase, if other *Princes* forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to

the reſt, which by farre exceedeth all the reſt: if his golde nowe indanger vs, hee will then bee vnreſiſtable. Such of the Spanyardes as afterwarde endeuoured the conqueſt thereof (whereof there haue beene manie as ſhall bee declared hereafter) thought that this *Inga*, (of whome this Emperour now liuing is deſcended) tooke his way by the riuer *Amazones*, by that braunch which is called *Papamene*, for by that way followed *Orelia no* (by the commandement of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the yeare 1542.) whoſe name the riuer alſo beareth this day, which is alſo by others called *Maragnon*, althogh *Andrew Theuet* doth affirm that betwen *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are 120. leagues: but ſure it is that thoſe riuers haue one head & beginning, and the *Maragnon* which *Theuet* deſcribeth is but a braunch of *Amazones*, or *Oreliano*, of which I wil ſpeake more in another place. It was alſo attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano* or after I knowe not: but it is nowe little leſſe then 70. yeares ſince that *Ordace* a knight of the order of *Saint Iago* attempted the ſame: and it was in the yeare 1542. that *Oreliano* diſcouered the riuer of *Amazones*; but the firſt that euer ſawe *Manoa* was *Iohannes Martines* maiſter of the munition to *Ordace*. At a port called *Morequito* in *Guiana* there lieth at this day a greate ancor of *Ordaces* ſhippe, and this porte is ſome 300. miles within the lande, vpon the great riuer of *Oroneque*.

I reſted at this porte fowre daies, twentie dayes after I left the ſhippes at *Curiapum*. The relation of this *Martines* (who was the firſt that diſcouered *Manoa*) his ſucceſſe & end is to be ſeene in the Chancery of *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, whereof *Berreo* had a copie, which

appeared to be the greateſt incouragement as well to *Berreo* as to others that formerly attempted the diſcouerie & conqueſt, *Oreliano* after he failed of the diſcouery of *Guiana*, by the ſaid riuer of *Amazones*, paſſed into *Spaine*, and there obtained a patten of the king for the inuaſion and conqueſt, but died by ſea about the Ilandes, and his fleete ſeuered by tempeſt, the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the enterprize, and departed *Spaine* with 600. ſoldiers, and thirtie horſe, who arriuing on the coaſt of *Guiana*, was ſlaine in a mutinie with the moſt part of ſuch as fauoured him, as alſo of the rebellious part, in ſo much as his ſhips periſhed, & fewe or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the ſaide *Ordace*, vntill *Berreo* found the ancor of his ſhip in the riuer of *Orenoque*: but it was ſuppoſed, & ſo it is written by *Lopez* that he periſhed on the ſeas, and of other writers diuerſly cõceiued & reported. And heereof it came that *Martines* entred ſo farre within the Land and ariued at that Citie of *Inga* the Emperour, for it chanced that while *Ordace* with his army reſted at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the firſt or ſecond that attempted *Guiana*) by ſom negligence, the whol ſtore of powder prouided for the ſeruice, was ſet on fire, & *Martines* hauing the chef charg was condemned by the general *Ordace* to be executed forthwith: *Martines* being much fauoured by the ſoldiers had al the mean poſſible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other ſort then this. That he ſhuld be ſet into a *Canoa* alone without any victual onely with his armes, and ſo turnd looſe into the great riuer: but it pleaſed God that the *Canoa* was caried

downe

downe the ſtreame, & that certain of the *Guianians* met it the ſame euening, & hauing not at any time ſene any Chriſtian, or any man of that colour, they caried *Martynes* into the land to be wondred at, and ſo from towne to towne, vntill he came to the greate Citie of *Manoa*, the ſeate and reſidence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor after he had beheld him, knewe him to be a Chriſtian (for it was not long before that his brethren *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquiſhed by the Spaniardes in *Peru*) and cauſed him to be lodged in his pallace, and well entertained: he liued 7. moneths in *Manoa*, but not ſuffered to wander into the country any where: hee was alſo brought thither all the waie blindfield, led by the Indians vntill he came to the entrance of *Manoa* it ſelfe, and was 14. or 15. daies in the paſſage: he auowed at his death that he entred the City at *Noon*, and then they vncouered his face, & that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the City, and the next day from ſun riſing to ſun ſetting, ere he came to the pallace of *Inga*. After that *Martynes* had liued 7. moneths in *Manoa*, and began to vnderſtand the language of the country, *Inga* asked him whether he deſired to returne into his one countrey, or would willingly abide with him: but *Martynes* not deſirous to ſtay, obtained the fauour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he ſent diuers *Guianians* to conduct him to the riuer of *Orenoque* all loden with as much golde as they could carrie, which he gaue to *Martynes* at his departure: but when he was arriued neere the riuers ſide, the borderers which are called *Orenoqueponi* robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the treaſure (the borderers beeing at that time at warres which *Inga*, had not conquered) ſaue onely of

two gret bottels of gords, which were filled with beads of Golde curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had bin no other thing than his drink or meat or graine for food with which *Martynes* had liberty to passe, and so in *Canoas* he fell down from the riuer of *Orenoque* to *Trinedado*, and from thence to *Margueritta*, & so to *Saint Iuan de puerto rico*, where remaining a long time for passage into *Spayne* he died. In the time of his extreeme sickneſſe, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the *Sacrament* at the handes of his Confessor, he deliuered these things, with the relation of his trauels, and also called for his *Culabaza* or gords of the gold beads which he gaue to the Church & friers to be praied for. This *Martynes* was he that christned the citie of *Manoa*, by the name of *El Dorado*, and as *Berreo* informed me vpon this occasion. Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue seene are marueilous great drunkards, in which vice I thinke no nation can compare with them, and at the times of their solemne feastes when the Emperor carowseth with his Captains, tributaries, and gouernours, the manner is thus. Al those that pledge him are first stripped naked, & their bodies annointed all ouer with a kinde of white *Balsamum*: by them called *Curcai)* of which there is great plenty and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most pretious, whereof we haue had good experience: when they are annointed all ouer, certaine seruants of the Emperor hauing prepared gold made into fine pow der blow it throw holow canes vpō their naked bodies, vntil they be all shining from the foote to the head, & in this sort they sit drinking by twenties & hundreds and continue

in

in drunkennes ſometimes ſix or ſeuen daies together: the ſame is alſo confirmed by a letter written into *Spaine* which was intercepted, which maſter *Robert Dudley* told me he had ſeene. Vpon this ſight, and for the abundance of gold which he ſawe in the citie, the Images of Gold in their Temples, the plates, armors, and ſhieldes of gold which they vſe in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*. After *Oreliano* who was employed by *Pacaro* afterwards *Marques Pacaro* conqueror and gouernour of *Peru*, and the death of *Ordace* and *Martynes* one *Pedro de Oſua*, a knight of *Nauarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his way from *Peru*, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called *Oia*, which riſeth to the ſouthward of *Quinto*, and is verie greate: this riuer falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Oſua* with his companies deſcended, and came out of that Prouince which is called *Mutylones*: and it ſeemeth to me that this Empyre is reſerued for her Maieſtie and the *Engliſh* nation, by reaſon of the hard ſucceſſe which all theſe and other Spaniards found in attempting the ſame, wherof I will ſpeake briefely, though impertinent in ſome ſort to my purpoſe. This *Pedro de Oſua* had among his troupes at *Biſcayn* called *Agiri*, a man meanely borne, & bare no other office than a Surgeant or *Alferez*: but after certaine months, when the ſoldiers were grieued with trauels and conſumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or bodie of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raiſed a muteny, of which hee made himſelfe the head, and ſo preuailed as hee put *Oſua* to the ſword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commaundement with a purpoſe not only to make himſelfe Emperor of *Guiana*,

but all of *Peru*, and of all that ſide of the *weſt Indies*: he had of his partie ſeuen hundred ſoldiers, and of thoſe many promiſed to draw in other captains and companies to deliuer vp townes and forts in *Peru*, but neither finding by the ſaid riuer any paſſage into *Guiana*, nor any poſſibilitie to returne towards *Peru* by the ſame *Amazones* by reaſon that the deſcent of the riuer made ſo great a currant, he was inforced to deſemboque at the mouth of the ſaid *Amazones*, which cannot be leſſe than a thouſand leagues from the place where they imbarqued: from thence he coaſted the land till he arriued at *Marguerita* to the North of *Mompater*, which is at the day called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there ſlue *Don Iuan de villa Andreda*, gouernour of *Marguerita*, who was father to *Don Iuan Sermiento* gouernor of *Marguerita* when Sir *Iohn Burgh* landed there, and attempted the Iland *Agiri* put to the ſword all others in the Iland that refuſed to be of his partie, and tooke with him certaine *Cemerones*, and other deſperate companions: From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there ſlewe the Gouernour, & dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: he ſpoiled all the coaſt of *Caracas*, and the prouince of *Venſuello*, and of *Rio de hache*, and as I remember it was the ſame yeere Sir *Iohn Hawkins* ſailed to Saint *Iuan de Lua* in the *Ieſus* of *Lubeck*, for himſelfe tolde me that he met with ſuch a one vpon the coaſt that rebelled, and had ſailed downe all the riuer of *Amazones*, *Agiri* from hence landed about *Sancta Marta*, and ſacked it alſo, putting to death ſo many as refuſed to be his followers, purpoſing to inuade *Nueuo reyno de Granada*, and to ſack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tunia* & the reſt of the cities of *Nueuo reygno*, and from thence

thence againe to enter *Peru* : but in a fight in the saide *Nueuo reygno* he was ouerthrown,& finding no way to escape,he first put to the sword his own children,foretelling them that they should not liue to be defamed or opbraid by the *Spaniards* after his death,who would haue tearmed them the children of a *Traytor* or *Tyrant*, and that sithence he could not make them *Princes*,he woulde yet deliuer them from shame and reproch: These were the ends and tragedies of *Oreliano*,*Ordaçe*, *Osua*, *Martynes*,and *Agiri*.

After these followed *Ieronimo Ortal de Seragosa* with 130,soldiers, who failing his entrance by sea was cast with the currant on the coast of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Niguell de Neuiri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de sylua* a *Portugues* of the familie of *Rigomes de sylua*,and by the fauour which *Rigomes* had with the king he was set out,but he also shot wide of the mark, for being departed from Spain with his fleete, he entred by *Maragnon* or *Amazones*,where by the nations of the riuer, and by the *Amazones* he was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himselfe and all his armie defeated,only seauen escaped,and of those but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *West Indies*,taking his iourney by land towardes *Orenoque*, which may bee some 120. leagues, but ere hee came to the borders of the saide riuer, hee was set vpon by a nation of Indians called *Wikiri*, and ouerthrowen in sort, that of 300. soldiers, horse men, many Indians, and *Negroes*, there returned but 18: others affirm that he was defeated in the verie entrance of *Guiana*,at the first ciuill towne of the Empire called *Macureguari*. Captaine *Preston* in taking

S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner who died in his ship, that was one of the companie of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and saued among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is helde among the *Spaniards* there abouts of the great riches of *Guiana*, and *El Dorado* the Citie of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboord me by captaine *Preston*, who told mee in the hearing of himselfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos* Campmaster at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Guiana*, & that he saw with him fortie of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with golde, feathers garnished with golde, and diuers rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* king.

After *Hernandez de Serpa* it was vndertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada*, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of *Nueuo reygno*, whose daughter & heire *Don Anthonio de Berreo* married: *Gonzales* sought the passage also by the riuer called *Pampamene*, which riseth by *Quito* in *Peru*, and runneth southeast 100. leagues, & then falleth into *Amazones*, but he also failing the entrãce, returned with the losse of much labour and cost: I tooke one captaine *George* a *Spaniard* that followed *Gonzales* in this enterprise. *Gonzales* gaue his daughter to *Berreo* taking his oth & honor, to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance & life, who since as he hath swome to me hath spent 300000, ducates in the same, & yet neuer could enter so farre into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handful of men, being in all about

100.

100, gentlemen, ſoldiers, rowers, bote-keepers, boies, and of all ſortes: neither could anie of the forepaſſed vndertakers, nor *Berreo* himſelfe diſcouer the country, till nowe latelie by conference with an auncient kinge called *Carapana* hee got the true light thereof: for *Berreo* came aboue 1500. miles, ere he vnderſtood ought, or could finde any paſſage or enterance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of all thoſe forenamed and diuers others, and was perſwaded of their errors and miſtakings. *Berreo* ſought it by the riuer *Caſſanar*, which falleth into a great riuer called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is alſo called *Orenoque*.

He tooke his iourney from *Nueuo reygno de Granada* where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in thoſe parts. he was followed with 700. horſe he draue with him 1000. head of cattell, hee had alſo many women, Indians and ſlaues. How all theſe riuers croſſe and encounter, how the countrie lyeth and is bordred, the paſſage of *Cemenes*, and of *Berreo*, mine owne diſcouerie, and the way that I entred, with all the reſt of the nations and riuers, your Lordſhip ſhall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finiſhed, and which I ſhal moſt humbly pray your Lo. to ſecret, and not to ſuffer it to paſſe your own hands: for by a draught thereof all may bee preuented by other nations. For I know it is this very yeere ſought by the French: although by the way that they nowe take, I feare it not much. It was alſo tolde me ere I departed England, that *Villiers* the Admirall was in preparation for the planting of *Amazones*, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much

much gold and other rarities. I ſpeak with a captaine of a French ſhip that came from thence, his ſhip riding in *Falmouth*, the ſame yeere that my ſhips came firſt from *Virginia*.

There was another this yeere in *Helford* that alſo came from thence, and had beene 14. moneths at an ancor in *Amozones*, which were both very rich. Although as I am perſwaded *Guiana* cannot bee entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence paſſeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of *Amazones*, and ſo it doth on euery hand farre from the countrey it ſelfe, for thoſe Indians of *Trenedado* haue plates of gold from *Guiana*, and thoſe *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Ilands by which our ſhips paſſe yeerly to the *Weſt Indies*, alſo the Indiãs of *Paria*, thoſe Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all thoſe other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from *Paria* thorow the Prouince of *Venſuello*, and in *Maracapana*, and the Canibals of *Guanipa*, the Indians called *Aſſawai*, *Coaca*, *Aiai*, and the reſt (all which ſhall be deſcribed in my deſcription as they are ſituate) haue plates of gold of *Guiana*. And vp on the riuer of *Amazones Theuet* writeth that the people were *Croiſſants* of gold, for of that form the *Guianians* moſt commonly make them: So as from *Dominica* to *Amnzones* which is aboue 250. leagues, all the chief Indians in al parts weare of thoſe plates of *Guiana*. Vndoubtedly thoſe that trade *Amazones* returne much gold, which (as is aforeſaide) commeth by trade from *Guiana*, by ſome branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into *Amazones*, and either it is by the riuer which paſſeth by the nations called *Tiſnados*, or by *Carepuna*

repuna. I made inquirie amongſt the moſt ancient and beſt trauelled of the *Orenoqueponi*, & I had knowledge of all the riuers between *Orenoque* and *Amazones*, and was very deſirous to vnderſtand the trueth of thoſe warlike women, bicauſe of ſome it is beleeued, of others not: And though I digreſſe from my purpoſe, yet I will ſet downe what hath beene deliuered me for trueth of thoſe women, and I ſpake with a *Caſique* or Lorde of people that told me he had been in the riuer, and beyond it alſo. The nations of theſe women are on the ſouth ſide of the riuer in the prouinces of *Topago*, and their chiefeſt ſtrengths and retraicts are in the Ilandes ſcituate on the ſouth ſide of the entrance, ſome 60. leagues within the mouth of the ſaid riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Aſia*: In *Africa* thoſe that had *Meduſa* for *Queene*: others in *Scithia* neere the riuers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon*: we find alſo that *Lampedo* and *Martheſia* were *Queens* of the *Amazones*: in many hiſtories they are verified to haue been, and in diuers ages and prouinces: But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompany with men but once in a yeeare, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in Aprill. At that time all the kinges of the borders aſſemble, and the Queenes of the *Amazones*, and after the Queens haue choſen, the reſt caſt lottes for their *Valentines*. This one moneth, they feaſt, dance, & drinke of their wines in abundance, & the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a ſonne, they retutne him to the father, if of a daughter they nouriſhe it, and retaine it, and as many as haue daughters ſende

vnto

vnto the begetters a preſent, all being deſirous to increaſe their owne ſex and kinde, but that the cut off the right dug of the breſt I do not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they tooke any priſoners that they vſed to accompany with thoſe alſo at what time ſoeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are ſaid to be verie cruell and bloodthirſty, eſpecially to ſuch as offer to inuade their territories. Theſe *Amazones* haue likewiſe great ſtore of theſe plates of Golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene ſtones, which the Spaniards call *Piedras Hiiadas*, and we vſe for ſpleene ſtones, and for the diſeaſe of the ſtone we alſo eſteeme them: of theſe I ſawe diuers in *Guiana*, and commonly euery king or *Caſique* hath one, which their wiues for the moſt part weare, and they eſteeme them as great ie wels.

But to returne to the enterpriſe of *Berreo*, who (as I haue ſaid) departed from *Nueuo reygno* with 700. horſe, beſides the prouiſions aboue rehearſed; he deſcended by the riuer called *Caſſanar*, which riieth in *Nueuo reygno* out of the mountaines by the citie of *Tuuia*; from which mountaine alſo ſpringeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great riuer of *Meta*, and *Meta* riſeth from a mountaine ioyning to *Pampelone* in the ſame *Nueuo reygno de Granada*: theſe as alſo *Guaiare*, which iſſueth out of the mountaines by *Timana* fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his heads, for at their comming togither they loſe their names, and *Baraquan* farther downe is alſo rebaptized by the name of *Orenoque*. On the other ſide of the city and hils of *Timana* riſeth *rio grande*, which falleth into the ſea by *Sancta Marta*. By *Caſ-*

ſonar

ſonar firſt, and ſo into *Meta Berreo* paſſed, keeping his horſemen on the bankes, where the countrie ſerued them for to march, and where otherwiſe he was driuen to embarque them in botes which he builded for the purpoſe, & ſo came with the current down the riuer of *Meta*, and ſo into *Baraquan*. After he entred that great and mightie riuer, he began daily to looſe of his companies both men and horſe, for it is in many places violentlie ſwift, and hath forcible eddies, many ſands, and diuers Ilands ſharpe pointed with rocks: But after one whole yeare, iourneying for the moſt parte by riuer, and the reſt by land he grew dailie to fewer numbers, for both by ſicknes, and by encountering with the people of thoſe regions, through which he trauelled, his companies were much waſted, eſpecially by diuers incounters with the *Amapaians*: And in all this time he neuer could learne of any paſſage into *Guiana*, or any newes of the ſame therof, vntil he came to the farther border of the ſaid *Amapaia*, eight daies iourney from the riuer *Caroli*, which was the fartheſt riuer that we entred. Among thoſe of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of theſe people accoſted *Berreo*, or would trade with him the firſt three months of the ſix which he ſoiourned there. This *Amapaia* is alſo marueilous rich in gold (as both *Berreo* confeſſed, and thoſe of *Guiana* with whome I had moſt conference) and is ſituate vpon *Orenoke* alſo. In this countrey *Berreo* loſt 60. of his beſt ſoldiers, and moſt of al his horſe that remained of his former yeares trauell: but in the end after diuers encounters with thoſe nations they grew to peace, and they preſented *Berreo* with 10. Images of fine gold among diuers other plates

and *Croiſſants*, which as he ſware to me and diuers other gentlemen were ſo curiouſly wrought, as he had not ſeene the like either in *Italy*, *Spayne*, or the low countries: and he was reſolued that when they came to the handes of the Spaniſh king, to whom he had ſent them by his Campmaſter, they would appeere very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a nation as had no Iron inſtrument at all, nor any of thoſe helpes which our goldſmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in *Amapaia* which gaue him theſe peeces are called *Anebas*, and the riuer of *Orenoque* at that place is aboue 12. Engliſh miles brode which may be from his out fall into the ſea 700. or 800. miles.

This prouince of *Amapaia* is a very low and a mariſh ground neere the riuer, and by reaſon of the red water which iſſueth out in ſmall branches thorow the fenny and boggie ground, there breed diuers poiſonfull wormes and ſerpents, and the Spaniards not ſuſpecting, nor in any ſort foreknowing the danger were infected with a grieuous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and euen the very horſes poiſoned therewith: In ſo much as at the end of the ſix months that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left aboue 120. ſoldiers, and neither horſe nor cattle. For *Berreo* hoped to haue founde *Guiana* by 1000. miles neerer than it fell out to be in the end, by menes wherof they ſuſtained much want and much hunger, oppreſſed with grieuous diſeaſes, and all the miſeries that could be imagined. I demaunded of thoſe in *Guiana* that had trauelled *Amapaia* how they liued with that tawnie or red water when they trauelled thither, and they tolde me

me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the skie they vſed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the ſetting of the *Sun* it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night ſtrong poyſon. I learned alſo of diuers other riuers of that nature among them which were alſo (while the *Sun* was in the *Meredian*) verie ſafe to drink and in the morning, euening, and night, wonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this *Prouince Berreo* haſted away aſſoone as the *Spring* and beginning of *Summer* appeared, & ſought his entrance on the borders of *Orenoque* on the ſouth ſide, but there ran a ledge of ſo high & impaſſible mountaines as hee was not able by any meanes to march ouer thē, cōtinuing from the eaſt ſea into which *Orenoque* falleth, euen to *Quito* in *Peru*: neither had he meanes to carrie victuall or munition ouer thoſe craggie, high, and faſt hils, being all wooddy, and thoſe ſo thicke and ſpiny, and ſo full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impoſſible to creepe thorow them: hee had alſo neither friendſhip among the people, nor any interpreter to perſwade or treate with them, and more, to his diſaduantage, the *Caſiqui* and kings of *Amapaia* had giuen knowledge of his purpoſe to the *Guianians*, and that hee ſought to ſacke and conquer the Empire, for the hope of their ſo great abundance and quantities of gold: he paſſed by the mouths of many great riuers, which fell into *Orenoque* both from the north and ſouth, which I forbeare to name for tediouſneſſe, and becauſe they are more pleaſing in deſcribing than reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell and hundred riuers into *Orenoque* from the north and ſouth, whereof the

leſt was big as *Rio grande*, that paſſeth betweene *Popajan*, and *Nueuo reyno de grananda* (*Rio grande* being eſteemed one of the renowned riuers in al the weſt Indies: & numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of theſe, but *Carols* only, neither from what nations they deſcended, neither to what Prouinces they led, for he had no meanes to diſcourſe with the inhabitants at any time: neyther was he curious in theſe things, being vtterlie vnlearned, & not knowing the eaſt frō the weſt. But of al theſe I got ſom knowledge, & of many more, partly by mine own trauel, & the reſt by cōferēce, of ſom one I learned one of others the reſt, hauing with me an *Indiā* that ſpake many languages, & that of *Guiana* naturally. I ſought out al the aged men, & ſuch as were greateſt trauelers and by the one & the other I cāme to vnderſtand the ſituations, the riuers (the kingdoms from the eaſt ſea to the borders of *Peru*, & from *Orenoque* ſouthward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the regions of *Maria Tambal*, and of all the kings of Prouinces and captaines of townes & villages, how they ſtood in tearms of peace or war, and which were friends or enimies the one with the other, without which there can bee neither entrance nor conqueſt in thoſe parts, nor els where: For by the diſſention betweene *Guaſcar* and *Atabalia*, *Pacaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the hatred that the *Traxcallians* bare to *Mutezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious ouer *Mexico*, without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honour and riches, which they attained vnto.

Now *Berreo* began to grow into deſpaire, and looked for no other ſucceſſe than his predeceſſors in this enter-

enterprize, vntill ſuch time as he arriued at the *Pro*vince of *Emeria* towards the eaſt and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauorable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this lande is called *Carapana*, a man very wiſe, ſubtill, and of great experience, being little leſſe than 100. yeares old: In his youth he was ſent by his father into the Iland of *Trinedado*, by reaſon of ciuill warre among themſelues, and was bred at the village, in that Iland, called *Parico*: at that place in his youth hee had ſeene many Chriſtians both French and Spaniſh, and went diuers times with the *I*ndians of *Trinedado* to *Marguerita* & *Cumana* in the weſt Indies, (for both thoſe places haue euer been releeued with victuall from *Trinedado*) by reaſon whereof he grew of more vnderſtanding, and noted the difference of the Nations, comparing the ſtrength and armes of his country with thoſe of the Chriſtians, and euer after temporized ſo, as whoſoeuer els did amiſſe, or was waſted by contention, *Carapana* kept him ſelfe and his country in quiet and plentie: hee alſo held peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his neighbors, and had free trade with all nations whatſoeuer els had war.

Berreo ſoiourned and reſted his weake troupe in the towne of *Carapana* ſix weeks, and from him learnd the way and paſſage to *Guiana*, and the riches & magnificence thereof: but being then vtterly diſable to proceed, he determined to trie his fortune another yeare when he had renewed his prouiſions, and regathered more force, which he hoped for as wel out of *S*pain, as frõ *Nueuo reyno*, where he had left his ſon *Don Anthonio Xemenes* to ſecond him vpõ the firſt notice giuẽ of his entrance

entrance, & ſo for the preſent embarqued himſelfe in *Canoas*, & by the branches of *Orenoque* arriued at *Trinedado*, hauing from *Carapana* ſufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinedado* he coaſted *Paria*, and ſo recouered *Marguerita*: and hauing made relation to *Don Iuan Sermiento* the gouernour of his proceeding, and perſwaded him of the riches of *Guiana*, hee obtayned from thence 50. ſoldiers, promiſing preſentlie to returne to *Carapana*, and ſo into *Guiana*. But *Berreo* ment nothing leſſe at that time, for hee wanted manie prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuch an enterprize, and therefore departing from *Marguerita* ſeated himſelfe in *Trinedado*, and from thence ſent his Campmaſter, and the Sargeant maior backe to the borders to diſcouer the neereſt paſſage into the Empire, as alſo to treat with the borderers, and to drawe them to his partie and loue, without which, hee knew hee could neither paſſe ſafelie, nor in anie ſorte be releeued with victuall or ought els. *Carapana* directed this companie to a king called *Morequito* aſſuring them that no man coulde deliuer ſo much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his dwelling was but fiue daies iourney from *Macureguari*, the firſt ciuill towne of *Guiana*.

Now your Lordſhip ſhal vnderſtand that this *Morequito*, one of the greateſt Lords or Kings of the borders of *Guiana*, had two or three yeares before beene at *Cumana*, and at *Marguerita*, in the weſt Indies, with great ſtore of plates of golde, which he carried to exchange for ſuch other things as hee wanted in his owne countrie, and was dailie feaſted, and preſented by the gouernors of thoſe places, and held

held amongſt them ſome two moneths, in which time one *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana* wan him to be his conductor into *Guiana*, beeing allured by thoſe *Croiſſants* and Images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as alſo by the ancient fame and magnificence of *El Dorado*: whereupon *Vides* ſent into Spaine for a patent to diſcouer and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the precedence of *Berreos* patent, which as *Berreo* affirmeth was ſigned before that of *Vides*: ſo as when *Vides* vnderſtood of *Berreo*, and that he had made entrance into that territorie, and foregone his deſire and hope, it was verilie thought that *Vides* practiſed with *Morequito* to hinder and diſturbe *Berreo* in al he could, and not to ſuffer him to enter through the *Seignorie*, nor any of his companies, neither to victuall, nor guide them in any ſort; for *Vides* gouernor of *Cumana*, and *Berreo* were become mortall enemies, as well for that *Berreo* had gotten *Trinedado* into his patent with *Guiana*, as alſo in that he was by *Berreo* preuented in the iourney of *Guiana* it ſelfe: howſoeuer it was I know not, but *Morequito* for a time diſſembled his diſpoſition, ſuffered Spaniards, and a Frier (which *Berreo* had ſent to diſcouer *Manoa*) to trauell through his countrey, gaue them a guide for *Marcureguarai* the firſt towne of ciuill apparrelled people, from whence they had other guides to bringe them to *Manoa* the great citie of *Inga*: and being furniſhed with thoſe thinges, which they had learned of *Carepana*, were of moſt price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleuen daies arriued at *Manoa*, as *Berreo* affirmeth for certain: although I could not be aſſured therof by the Lord which now gouerneth the prouince of

Merequito,

Merequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this ſide *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich (as he ſaid) built like to townes of Chriſtians, with many roomes.

When theſe ten Spaniards were returned, and readie to put out of the border of *Aromaia*, the people of *Morequito*, ſet vpon them, & ſlew them al but one that ſwame the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of 40000. peſoes of Golde, and as it is written in the ſtorie of *Iob*, one onely liued to bring the newes to *Berreo*, that both his nine ſoldiers and holie father were benighted in the ſaide Prouince. I my ſelfe ſpake with the Captaines of *Morequito* that ſlewe them, and was at the place where it was executed. *Berreo* inraged heerewithall ſente all the ſtrength he coulde make into *Aromaia*, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey: but *Morequito* ſuſpecting the ſame fled ouer *Orenoque*, and throw the territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recouered *Cumana*, where he thought himſelfe very ſafe with *Vides* the gouernour: But *Berreo* ſending for him in the Kings name and his meſſengers finding him in the houſe of one *Faſhardo* on the ſudden ere it was ſuſpected, ſo as he could not then be conueied away, *Vides* durſt not deny him, as well to auoyde the ſuſpition of the practiſe, as alſo for that an holy father was ſlaine by him and his people. *Morequito* offred *Faſhardo* the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him eſcape, but the poore *Guianian* betraid of al ſides was deliuered to the Campmaſter of *Berreo*, and was preſently executed.

Afterthe death of this *Morequito*, the ſouldiers of *Berreo* ſpoiled his territorie, & tooke diuers priſoners, among

among others they tooke the vncle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now king of *Aromaia*, (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great vnderstanding and politie: he is aboue 100. yeeres olde, and yet of very able bodie: the *Spaniards* led him in a chain 13. daies, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey and *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana* aforesaide, and was at last redeemed for 100. plates of Gold, and diuers stones called *Pedras Hiiadas*, or *Spleen* stones. Now *Berreo* for executing of *Morequito* and other cruelties, spoyles, and slaughters done in *Aromaia* hath lost the loue of the *Orenoqueponi*, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to *Carapana*, which is called the port of *Guiana*: but from thence by the helpe of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the countrey, and alwaies appointed 10. *Spaniards* to reside in *Carapanas* towne, by whose fauor and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

They haue also gotten a nephewe of *Morequito*, whom they haue Christened and named *Don Iuan*, of whom they haue great hope, endeuoring by all means to establish him in the said prouince. Among manie other trades those *Spaniards* vsed in *Canoas* to passe to the riuers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*, which are on the south side of the mouth of *Orenoque*, and there buy women and children from the *Caniballes*, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for 3. or 4 hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more

euen their own daughters: hee rof the Spaniards make great profit, for buying a maid of 12. or 13. yeeres for three or fower hatchets, they ſell them againe at *Marguerita* in the weſt Indies for 50. and 100. peſoes, which is ſo many crownes.

The maſter of my ſhip *Io. Douglas* tooke one of the *Canoas* which came loden from thence with people to be ſold, and the moſt of them eſcaped, yet of thoſe hee brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well ſhaped as euer I ſawe any in England, and afterward I ſawe many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to anie of *Europe*. They alſo trade in thoſe riuers for bread of *Caſſani*, of which they buy an hundred pounde weight for a knife, and ſell it at *Marguerita* for tenne peſoes. They alſo recouer great ſtore of cotten, braſill wood, and thoſe beds which they call *Hamacas* or braſill beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniardes vſe to lie commonlie, and in no other, neyther did we our ſelues while we were there: By meanes of whith trades, for ranſome of diuers of the *Guianians* and for exchaunge of hatchets and knifes, *Berreo* recouered ſome ſtore of gold plates, eagles of gold, and Images of men and diuers birds, and diſpatched his Campmaſter for Spaine with all that he had gathered, therewith to leuy ſoldiers, and by the ſhew therof to draw others to the loue of the enterprize: and hauing ſent diuers Images as well of men as beaſtes, birds and fiſhes ſo curiouſly wrought in golde, doubted not but to perſwade the king to yeeld to him ſome further helpe, eſpecially for that this lande hath neuer beene ſacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the

Indies their works were all ſpent, and the gold drawn out with great labor and charge: he alſo diſpatched meſſengers to his ſon in *Nueuo reyno* to leuy al the forces he could, and to come downe the riuer of *Orenoque* to *Emeria*, the prouince of *Carapana*, to meet him: hee had alſo ſent to *Saint Iago de Leon* on the coaſt of the *Caracas* to buy horſes and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings paſt & purpoſed: I told him that I hade reſolued to ſee *Guiana*, and that it was the end of my iourney, & the cauſe of my comming to *Trinedado*: as it was indeed, (& for that purpoſe I ſent *Ia. Whiddon* the yeere before to get intelligence, with whome *Berreo* himſelfe had ſpeech at that time, and remembred how inquiſitiue *Ia. Whiddon* was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of *Guiana*) *Berreo* was ſtriken into a great melancholie and ſadnes, and vſed all the arguments he coulde to diſſwade mee, and alſo aſſured the gentlemen of my companie that it would be labour loſt: & that they ſhould ſuffer manie miſeries if they proceeded: And firſt he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with my barke or pinace, nor hardly with anie ſhips bote, it was ſo low, ſandie: and full of flats, and that his companies were dailie grounded in their *Canoas* which drew but twelue inches water: hee further ſaide that none of the countrey would come to ſpeake with vs, but would all flie, and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes, and beſides that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to ſwel, it was impoſſible to ſtem the currant, & that we could not in thoſe ſmal botes by any means carry vic-

tuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed moſt diſcouraged my companie) the Kings and Lords of al the borders and of *Guiana* had decreed, that none of them ſhould trade with anie Chriſtians for gold, becauſe the ſame would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Chriſtians meant to conquer and diſpoſſeſſe them of all together.

Manie and the moſt of theſe I found to be true, but yet I reſoluing to make trial of al whatſoeuer hapned, directed Captaine *George Gifford* my Vice-admirall to take the *Lions whelpe*, and Captaine *Calfield* his barke to turne to the eaſtward, againe the brize what they could poſſible, to recouer the mouth of a riuer called *Capuri*, whoſe entrance I had before ſent Captaine *Whiddon* and *Io. Dowglas* the maſter, to diſcouer, who founde ſome nine foote water or better vpon the floude, and fiue at lowe water, to whome I had giuen inſtructions that they ſhoulde ancor at the edge of the ſhold, and vpon the beſt of the floode to thruſt ouer, which ſholde *Iohn Dowglas* boyed and bekonned for them before: but they laboured in vain, for neither coulde they turne it vp altogither ſo farre to the eaſt, neither did the floud continue ſo longe, but the water fell ere they coulde haue paſſed the ſandes, as wee after found by a ſecond experience. ſo as now wee muſt either giue ouer our enterprize, or leauing our ſhips at aduenture 400. mile behind vs, to run vp in our ſhips botes, one barge, and two wherries, but being doubtfull how to carrie victuals for ſo long a time in ſuch bables, or any ſtrength of men, eſpeciallie for that *Berreo* aſſured vs that his ſonne muſt bee by that time come downe with manie ſoldiers

diers, I ſent away one *King* maiſter of the *Lions whelpe* with his ſhips bote to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the ſmall ſhips to enter: But when hee came to the mouth of *Amana*, he founde it as the reſt, but ſtaied not to diſcouer it throughlie, becauſe hee was aſſured by an Indian his guide that the *Canibals* of *Guanipa* would aſſaile them with many *Canoas*, & that they ſhot poyſoned arrowes, ſo as if hee haſted not backe they ſhould all be loſt.

In the meane time fearing the worſt I cauſed al the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Gallego* bote, which we meant to caſt off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all thinges to prepare her the beſt they could, ſo as ſhe might bee brought to drawe but fiue foote, for ſo much we had on the bar of *Capuri* at lowe water: And doubting of *Kings* returne I ſent *Io. Dowglas* againe in my long barge, as well to releeue him as alſo to make a perfect ſearch in the bottom of that baye: For it hath beene held for infallible that whatſoeuer ſhip or bote ſhall fall therein, can neuer deſſemboque againe, by reaſon of the violent currant which ſetteth into the ſaide bay, as alſo for that the brize and eaſterlie wind bloweth directlie into the ſame, of which opiniō *I* haue heard *Iohn Hampton* of *Plimmouth* one of the greateſt experience of *England*, & diuers others beſides that haue traded *Trinedado*.

I ſent with *Iohn Dowglas* an old *Caſſique* of *Trinedado* for a *Pilot*, who tolde vs that wee coulde not returne again by the bay or gulfe but that he knew a by branch which ran within the land to the Eaſtward, and that he

he thought by it we might fall in *Cuputi*, and so returne in fower daies: *Iohn Dowglas* searched those riuers, and found fower goodlie entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the *Thames* at *Wolwich*, but in the baie thitherward it was shole and but six foote water, so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe ouer, and therefore resolued to goe on with the botes, and the bottome of the *Gallego*, in which we thrust 60. men: In the *Lions whelpes* bote and wherry we carried 20, Captaine *Calfield* in his wherrie carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to carrie victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boyle and dresse out meat. Captaine *Gifford* had with him Master Edw. *Porter*: captaine *Eynos*, and eight more in his wherrie with all their victual, weapons, and prouisions: Captaine *Calfield* had with him my cosen *Bushed Georges* and eight more. In the galley, of gent. and officers my selfe had captaine *Thyn*, my cosen *Iohn Geennile*, my nephew *Iohn Gilbert*, captaine *VVhiddon*, captaine *Keymis*, *Edw. Hancocke*, captaine *Clarke*, lieutenant *Hewes*, *Tho. Vptun*, captaine *Facy*, *Ierome Ferrar*, *Antho. Wells*, *Will. Cannocke*, and about 50 more. We could not learne of *Berreo* anie other waie to enter but in branches, so farre to the windeward as it was impossible for vs to recouer: for wee had as much sea to crosse ouer in our wherries as betweene *Douer* and *Callis*, and in a greate billow, the winde and currant being both very strong, so as we were driuen to go in those smal botes directly before the wind into the bottome of the baie of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the mouth of some

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one of those riuers, which *Io. Dowglas* had last discouered, and had with vs for Pilote an Indian of *Barema*, a riuer to the south of *Orenoque*, betweene that and *Amazones*, whose *Canoas* we had formerlie taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *Cassani* breade to sell at *Marguerita*: this *Arwacan* promised to bring me into the great riuer of *Orenoque*, but indeede of that which we entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelue yeeres before, at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement, and if God had not sent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of riuers, ere we had found any way, eyther out or in, especiallie after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in fower daies: for I know all the earth doth not yeeld the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and also faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the Sun or compasse hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that waie we were also caried in a circle amongest multitudes of Ilands, and euery Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further than the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach: But this it chanced that entring into a riuer, (which bicause it had no name we called the riuer of the *Red crosse*, our selues being the first *Christians* that euer came therein:) the 22. of *May* as we were rowing vp the same, we espied a smal *Canoa* with three *Indians*, which (by the swiftnes of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke ere they could crosse the riuer, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed vnder the thicke

thicke wood gazed on with a doubtfull conceite what might befall thoſe three which we had taken : But when they perceiued that we offred them no violence, neither entred their *Canoa* with any of ours, nor took out of the *Canoa* any of theirs, they then began to ſhew themſelues on the banks ſide, and offered to traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had, and as we drewe neere they all ſtaide, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

As we abode there a while, our Indian Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go aſhore to their village to fetch ſome fruites, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and alſo to ſee the place, and to know the Lord of it againſt another time, and tooke with him a brother of his which he had with him in the iourney, when they came to the village of theſe people, the Lord of the Iland offred to lay hands on them, purpoſing to haue ſlaine them both, yeelding for reaſon that this Indian of ours had brought a ſtrange nation into their territorie to ſpoyle and deſtroy them: But the pilot being quicke and of a diſpoſed body ſlipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we ſtaied in our barge, crying out that his brother was ſlaine, with that we ſet hands on one of them that was next vs, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, aſſuring him that if we had not our *Pilot* againe, we would preſently cut off his head. This olde man being reſolued that he ſhoulde paie the loſſe of the other, cried out to thoſe in the woods to ſaue *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithſtanding

ſtanding, and hunted after him vpon the foote with their Deere dogs, and with ſo maine a crie that all the woods eckoed with the ſhoute they made, but at laſt this poore chaſed Indian recouered the riuer ſide, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coaſting, leaped down and ſwam to the barge halfe dead with feare, but our goood hap was, that we kept the other olde Indian, which we handfaſted to redeeme our Pilot withall, for being naturall of thoſe riuers, we aſſured our ſelues he knew the way better than any ſtranger could, and indeed, but for this chance I thinke we had neuer founde the way eyther to *Guiana*, or backe to our ſhips: for *Ferdinando* after a few daies knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the olde man himſelfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Thoſe people which dwell in theſe broken Ilands & drowned lands are generally called *Tiuitiuas*, there are of them two ſorts, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*.

The great riuer of *Orenoque* or *Baraquan* hath nine branches which fall out on the north ſide of his owne maine mouth: on the ſouth ſide it hath ſeuen other fallings into the ſea, ſo it deſemboketh by 16. armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Iſle of *Wight* and bigger, and many leſſe: from the firſt branch on the north to the laſt of the ſouth it is at leaſt 100. leagues, ſo as the riuers mouth is no leſſe than 300. miles wide at his entrance into the ſea, which I take to be farre bigger than that of *Amazones*: all thoſe that inhabite in the mouth of this riuer vpon the ſeuerall north branches are theſe *Tiuitiuas*, of which there

are two chiefe Lordes which haue continuall warres one with the other: the Ilandes which lie on the right hand are called *Pallamos*, and the land on the left *Hororotomaka*, and the riuer by which *Iohn Dowglas* returned within the land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

These *Tinitinas* are a very goodlie people and verie valiant, and haue the most manlie speech and most deliberate that euer I heard of what nation soeuer. In the summer they haue houses on the grounde as in other places: In the winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the *Spanish* storie of the west Indies, that those people do in the low lands neere the gulfe of *Vraba*: for betweene *May* and *September* the riuer of *Orenoke* riseth thirtie foote vpright, and then are those Ilands ouerflowen twentie foote high aboue the leuell of the ground, sauing some fewe raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are enforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eate of anie thing that is set or sowen, and as at home they vse neyther planting nor other manurance, so when they com abroad they refuse to feede of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth foorth. They vse the tops of *Palmitos* for bread, and kil Deere, fish and porks for the rest of their sustenance, they haue also manie sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great varietie of birds and foule.

And if to speake of them were not tedious and vulgare, surely we saw in those passages of verie rare colours & forms, not else where to be found; for as much as I haue either seen or red. Of these people those that dwell

dwell vpon the branches of *Orenoque* called *Cupuri* and *Macureo*, are for the moſt part Carpenters of *Canoas*, for they make the moſt and fayreſt houſes, and ſell them into *Guiana* for golde, and into *Trinedado* for *Tobacco*, in the exceſsiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations, and notwitſtanding the moiſtneſſe of the aire in which they liue, the hardnes of their diet, and the great labors they ſuffer to hunt, fiſh and foule for their liuing, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did *I* neuer beholde a more goodlie or better fauoured people, or more manlie. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, and eſpeciallie on the *Canibals*, ſo as none durſt without a good ſtrength trade by thoſe riuers, but of late they are at peace with their neighbors, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common enimie. When their commanders die, they vſe great lamentation, and when they thinke the fleſh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcaſſe againe, and hang it in the *Caſiques* houſe that died, and decke his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his Gold plates about the bones of his armes; thighes, and legges. Thoſe Nations which are called *Arwacas* which dwell on the ſouth of *Orenoque*, (of which place and nation our Indian *Pilot* was) are diſperſed in manie other places, and doe vſe to beate the bones of their Lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their ſeuerall ſorts of drinks.

After wee departed from the port of theſe *Ciawani*, we paſſed vp the riuer with the ſloud, and ancored the ebb, and in this ſort we went onward. The third daie

that wee entred the riuer our *Galley* came on grounde & ſtuck ſo faſt, as we thought that euen there our diſcouery had ended, and that we muſt haue left 60. of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with thoſe nations: but the next morning, after wee had caſt out all her ballaſt, with tugging and hawling to and fro, wee got her afloate, and went on: At fower daies ende wee fell into as goodlie a riuer as euer I behelde, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directlie without windings and turnings than the other. But ſoone after the ſould of the ſea left vs, and we enforced either by maine ſtrength to row againſt a violent currant, or to retnrue as wiſe as wee went out, wee had then no ſhift but to perſwade the companies that it was but two or three daies worke, and therfore deſired them to take paines, euery gentleman & others taking their turns to row, and to ſpell one the other at the howers end. Euerie daie we paſſed by goodlie branches of riuers, ſome falling from the weſt, others from the eaſt into *Amana*, but thoſe I leaue to the deſcription in the *Chart* of diſcouerie, where euerie one ſhall be named with his riſing and deſcent. When three daies more were ouer gone, our companies began to deſpaire, the weather being extreame hot, the riuer bordered with verie high trees that kept awaie the aire, and the currant againſt vs euerie daie ſtronger than other. But we euermore commanded our *Pilots* to promiſe an ende the next daie, and vſed it ſo long as we were driuen to aſſure them from fower reaches of the riuer to three, and ſo to two, and ſo to the next reach, but ſo long we laboured as many daies were ſpent, and ſo driuen to

draw

draw our ſelues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the laſt, and no drinke at all: and our men and our ſelues ſo wearied and ſcorched, and doubtfull withall whether we ſhould euer performe it or no, the heate encreaſing as we drew towardes the line for we were now in fiue degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreaſing and the aire breeding great faintnes,) we grew weaker and weaker when we had moſt need of ſtrength and abilitie, for howrelie the riuer ran more violently than other againſt vs, and the barge wherries, and ſhips bote of Captaine *Gifford*, and Captaine *Calfield*, had ſpent all their prouiſions, ſo as wee were brought into deſpaire and diſcomfort, had wee not perſwaded all the companie that it was but onelie one daies worke more to attaine the lande where we ſhould bee releeued of all wee wanted, and if we returned that we were ſure to ſtarue by the way, and that the worlde woulde alſo laugh vs to ſcorne. On the banks of theſe riuers were diuers ſorts of fruits good to eate, flowers and trees of that varietie as were ſufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, wee releeued our ſelues manie times with the fruits of the countrey, and ſomtimes with foule and fiſh: wee ſaw birds of all colours ſome carnation, ſome crimſon, orenge tawny, purple, greene, watched, and of all other ſorts both ſimple and mixt, as it was vnto vs a greate good paſſing of the time to beholde them, beſides the reliefe we found by killing ſome ſtore of them with our fouling peeces, without which, hauing little or no breade and leſſe drink, but onely the thick and troubled water of the riuer, we had been in a very hard caſe.

Our

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani*(whom, as I ſaid before, wee tooke to redeeme *Ferdinando*,) tould vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leaue the Galley at ancor the while in the great riuer, hee would bring vs to a towne of the *Arwacas* where we ſhould find ſtore of bread, hens, fiſh, and of the countrey wine, and perſwaded vs that departing from the Galley at noon, we might returne ere night : I was very glad to heare this ſpeech, and preſently tooke my barge, with eight musketiers: Captaine *Giffords* wherrie, with himſelf & foure musketiers, & Captaine *Calfield* with his wherry and as manie, and ſo wee entred the mouth of this riuer, and becauſe wee were perſwaded that it was ſo neere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all : when wee had rowed three howres, wee maruelled we ſawe no ſigne of anie dwelling, and asked the *Pilot* where the town was, he told vs a little farther: after three howers more the *Sun* being almoſt ſet, wee began to ſuſpect that hee led vs that waie to betraie vs, for he confeſſed that thoſe Spaniards which fled from *Trinedado*, and alſo thoſe that remayned with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were ioyned togither in ſome village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towardes night, and wee demaunding where the place was, hee tolde vs but fowre reaches more, when we had rowed fower and fower, we ſawe no ſigne, and our poore water men euen hart broken, and tired, were readie to giue vp the ghoſt; for wee had nowe come from the Galley neere forty miles.

At the laſt wee determined to hang the *Pilot*, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night, he

he had ſurely gone, but our owne neceſſities pleaded ſufficientlie for his ſafetie: for it was as darke as pitch. and the riuer began ſo to narrowe it ſelfe and the trees to hang ouer from ſide to ſide, as we were driuen with arming ſwordes to cut a paſſage thorowe the branches that couered the water. We were very deſirous to finde this towne hoping of a feaſt, becauſe we made but a ſhorte breakefaſt aboorde the *Galley* in the morning, and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our ſtomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was beſt to returne or go on, we began to doubt, ſuſpecting treaſon in the Pilote more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer aſſured vs that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at laſt about one a clocke after midnight we ſaw a light, and rowing towardes it, we heard the dogs of the village. When wee landed we founde fewe people, for the Lorde of that place was gone with diuers *Canoas* aboue 400. miles of, vpon a iourney towardes the heade of *Orenoque* to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Canibals*, who afterward vnfortunately paſſed by as we rode at an ancor in the port of *Morequito* in the darke of night and yet came ſo neere vs, as his *Canoas* grated againſt our barges: and left one of his company at the port of *Morequito*, by whome we vnderſtoode that hee had brought thirty yoong women, diuers plates of gold, and had great ſtore of fine peeces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his houſe we had good ſtore of bread, fiſh, hens, and Indian drinke, and ſo reſted that night, and in the morning after we had traded with ſuch of his people as came down, we returned

towardes

towards our *Galley*, and brought with vs some quantitie of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this riuer, we passed the most beautifull country that euer mine eies beheld: and whereas al that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes; heere we beheld plaines of twentie miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in diuers partes groues of trees by themselues, as if they had beene by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene vsed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it diuers sorts of strange fishes, and of maruellous bignes, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thousands of those vglie serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the riuer of *Lagartos*, in their language. I had a *Negro* a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those *Lagartos*. In the mean while our companies in the *Gally* thought we had beene all lost, (for we promised to returne before night,) and sent the *Lions whelps* ship bote with Captaine *VVhiddon* to follow vs vp the riuer, but the next day after we had rowed vp and downe some fower score miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer, and when we were euen at the last cast for want of victuals, Captaine *Gifford* being before the *Galley*, and the rest of the botes, seeking out some place to land vpon the banks to make fire, espied fower *Canoas* comming downe the riuer, & with no small ioy caused his men to trie the vttermost of their

strengths

ſtrengths, and after a while two of the 4. gaue ouer, and ran themſelues aſhore, euery man taking himſelfe to the faſtnes of the woods, the two other leſſer got away, while he landed to lay hold on theſe, and ſo turned into ſome by-creeke, we knew not whither: thoſe *Canoas* that were taken were loden with bread, & were bound for *Marguerita* in the weſt Indies, which thoſe Indians (called *Arwacas*) purpoſed to carrie thither for exchaunge: But in the leſſer, there were three Spaniards, who hauing heard of the defeate of their gouernour in *Trinedado*, and that we purpoſed to enter *Guiana*, came away in thoſe *Canoas*: one of them was a *Cauallero*, as the Captaine of the *Arwacas* after told vs, another a ſoldier, and a third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth coulde haue beene more welcome to vs next vnto gold, then the great ſtore of very excellent bread which we found in theſe *Canoas*, for now our men cried, let vs go on, we care not how farre. After that Captaine *Gyfford* had brought the two *Canoas* to the *Galley*, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks ſide with a dozen ſhot, where the *Canoas* firſt ran themſelues a ſhore, and landed there, ſending out Captaine *Gifford* and Captaine *Thyn* on one hand, and Captaine *Calfield* on the other to follow thoſe that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping thorow the buſhes, I ſawe an Indian baſket hidden, which was the refiners basket, for I found in it, his quickſiluer, ſaltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of mettals, and alſo the duſt of ſuch ore as he had refined, but in thoſe *Canoas* which eſcaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men; and offered 500. pound to what ſoldier ſoeuer

could take one of those 3. Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe, for they put themselues into one of the small *Canoas*: and so while the greater *Canoas* were in taking, they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniardes, we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their *Canoas*: of which I kept the chiefest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I vnderstood, where and in what countries the Spaniards had labored for gold, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselues so suddenly as by no meanes we coulde abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *White spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had been perceiued by the company, there would haue bin by this time many barks & ships set out, & perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for Pilots, so as both our selues might haue been preuented, & all our care taken for good vsage of the people been vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence, into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantitie (which I heare hath bin often obiected) whosoeuer had seene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it began to arise, and had beene a moneth and odde daies as we were from hearing ought frō our ships, leauing

uing them meanly mand, aboue 400. miles off, would perchance haue turned ſomwhat ſooner than we did, if all the mountaines had beene gold, or rich ſtones: And to ſay the truth all the branches and ſmall riuers which fell into *Orenoque* were rayſed with ſuch ſpeed, as if wee waded them ouer the ſhooes in the morning outward, wee were couered to the ſhoulders homeward the verie ſame daie: and to ſtaie to dig out golde with our nayles, had beene *Opus laboris*, but not *Ingenij*: ſuch a quantitie as woulde haue ſerued our turnes we could not haue had, but a diſcouery of the mines to our infinite diſaduantage we had made, and that coulde haue been the beſt profit of farther ſearch or ſtay: for thoſe mines are not eaſily broken, nor opened in haſt, and I could haue returned a good quantity of gold ready caſt, if *I* had not ſhot at another mark than preſent profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the reſt, feared that wee would haue eaten them, or otherwiſe haue put thē to ſome cruel death, for the Spaniards to the ende that none of the people in the paſſage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* it ſelfe might come to ſpeech with vs, perſwaded all the nations, that we were men eaters, and *Canibals*: but when the poore men & women had ſeen vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euerie one ſome thing or other; which was rare and ſtrange to them, they began to conceiue the deceit and purpoſe of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confeſſed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dailie, and vſed them for the ſatisfying of their owne luſts, eſpecially ſuch as they tooke in this maner by ſtrength. But I proteſt before the maieſtie of the liuing God, that I

neither know nor beleeue, that anie of our companie one or other, by violence or otherwiſe, euer knew any of their women, and yet we ſaw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of thoſe very yoong, & excellently fauoured which came among vs without deceit, ſtarke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue among them then this vſage, for I ſuffered not anie man to take from any of the nations ſo much as a *Pina*, or a *Patato* roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man ſo much as to offer to touch any of their vviues or daughters: which courſe, ſo contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drew them to admire her Maieſtie, whoſe commandement I told them it was, and alſo woonderfully to honour our nation. But I confeſſe it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner ſort from ſpoyle and ſtealing, when wee came to their houſes, which becauſe in all I could not preuent, I cauſed my Indian interpreter at euery place whē we departed, to know of the loſſe or wrong done and if ought were ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame vvas reſtored, & the party puniſhed in their ſight, or els it was paied for to their vttermoſt demand They alſo much vvoondred at vs, after they heard that wee had ſlain the *S*paniards at *Trinedado*, for they were before reſolued, that no nation of *Chriſtians* durſt abide their preſence, and they vvondred more when *I* had made them know of the great ouerthrovv that hir Maieſties army and fleete had giuen them of late yeers in their owne countries.

After vve had taken in this ſupplie of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which vvere excellent meate, I

gaue

gaue one of the *Canoas* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the Spaniards that were eſcaped, and when I had diſmiſſed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was chriſtened *Martin*) I ſent backe in the ſame *Canoa* the old *Ciawan* and *Ferdinando* my firſt Pilot, and gaue them both ſuch things as they deſired, with ſufficient victuall to carie them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ſhips, which they promiſed to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot *Martyn* the *Arwacan*: but the next or ſecond day after, wee came aground againe with our galley, & were like to caſt her away, with al our victual and prouiſion, and ſo lay on the ſand on whole night, and were farre more in deſpaire) at this time to free her then before, becauſe we had no tide of flood to helpe vs, & therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in miſhaps: but we faſtened and anko- vpon the land, and with maine ſtength drew her off: and ſo the 15. day wee diſcouered a far off the mountaines of *Guiana* to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a ſlent of a northerly winde that blew very ſtrong, which brought vs in ſight of the great riuer of *Orenoque*, out of which this riuer deſcended wherein wee were: we deſcried a farre off three other *Canoas* as farre as we could diſcerne them, after whom we haſtened with our barge and wherries, but two of them paſſed out of ſight, and the third entred vp the great riuer, on the right hand to the weſtward, & there ſtaied out of ſight, thinking that we meant to take the way eaſtward towards the prouince of *Carapana*, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to *Guiana*, the people in thoſe parts being all their enimies,

enemies, and thoſe in the *Canoas* thought vs to haue beene thoſe *S*paniards that were fled from *Trinedado*, and had eſcaped killing: and when wee came ſo farre downe as the opening of that braunch into which they ſlipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what we were, wherwith they came backe willingly aboord vs: and of ſuch fiſh and *Tortugas* egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promiſed in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them aud to do vs all other ſeruices they could.

That night we came and to ankor at the parting of three goodlie riuers (the one was the riuer of *Amana* by which wee came from the north, and ran athwart towardes the ſouth, the other two were of *Orenoque* which croſſed from the weſt and ran to the ſea toward[illegible] eaſt. and landed vpon a fayre ſande, where we fo[illegible] thouſands of *Tortugas* egs, which are very wholſome meate, and greatly reſtoring ſo as our men were now wel filled and highlie contented both with the fare, and neerenes of the land of *Guiana* which appeered in ſight. *I*n the morning there came down according to promiſe the Lord of that border called *Toparimaca*, with ſome thirtie or fortie followers, and brought vs diuers ſorts of fruits, & of his wine, bread, fiſh, and fleſh, whom we alſo feaſted as we could, at leaſt he dranke good *S*paniſh wine (whereof we had a ſmall quantitie in bottels) which aboue al things they loue. *I* conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next way to *Guiana*, who conducted our galley and botes to his owne port, and carried vs from thence ſome

mile

mile and a halfe to his towne, where ſome of our captaines garouſed of his wine till they were reaſonable pleaſant, for it is very ſtrong with pepper, & the iuice of diuers herbs, and fruits digeſted and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of ten or twelue gallons very cleane and ſweete, and are themſelues at their meetings and feaſts the greateſt garouſers and drunkardes of the world: when we came to his towne we founde two *Caſſiques*, whereof one of them was a ſtranger that had beene vp the riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the porte where we ankored, and the other was of that countrey a follower of *Toparimaca*: they lay each of them in a cotten *Hamaca*, which we call braſill beds, and two women attending them with ſix cups and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and ſo they dranke each of them three of thoſe cups at a time one to the other, and in this ſort they drinke drunke at their feaſts and meetings.

That *Caſſique* that was a ſtranger had his wife ſtaying at the port where we ankored, and in all my life I haue ſeldome ſeene a better fauored woman: She was of good ſtature, with blacke eies, fat of body, of an exeellent counten ance, her haire almoſt as long as her ſelfe, tied vp againe in prittie knots, and it ſeemed ſhe ſtood not in that awe of her husband, as the reſt, for ſhe ſpake and diſcourſt, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleaſant, knowing her owne comelines, and taking great pride therein. I haue ſeene a Lady in England ſo like her, as but for the difference of colour I would haue ſworne might haue beene the ſame.

The

The ſeate of this towne of *Toparimaca* was verie pleaſa[illegible]tanding on a little hill, in an excellent proſpect, with goodly gardens a mile compaſſe rounde about it, and two verie faire and large ponds of excellent fiſh adioyning. This towne is called *Arowocai*: the people are of the nation called *Nepoios*, and are followers of *Carapana*. In that place I ſawe very aged people, that we might perceiue all their ſinewes and veines without any fleſh, and but euen as a caſe couered onely with skin. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and trauell, and knew the riuer moſt perfectly both by day and night, and it ſhall be requiſite for any man that paſſeth it to haue ſuch a Pilot, for it is ſower, fiue, and ſix miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with woonderfull eddies, and ſtrong currants, many great Ilands and diuers ſholds, and many dangerous rocks, and beſides vpon any increaſe of winde ſo greate a billow, as we were ſometimes in great perill of drovvning in the Galley, for the ſmall botes durſt not come from the ſhore, but vvhen it vvas very faire.

The next day vve haſted thence, and hauing an eaſterly vvind to helpe, vve ſpared our arms from rovving: for after vve entred *Orenoque*, the riuer lieth for the moſt part eaſt and vveſt, euen from the ſea vnto *Quito* in *Perv*. This riuer is nauigable vvith ſhips little leſſe than 1000. miles, & from the place vvhere vve entred it may be ſailed vp in ſmall pinaces to many of the beſt parts of *Nueuo reygno de granado*, and of *Popayan*: and from no place may the cities of theſe parts of the Indies be ſo eaſily taken and inuaded as from hence.

All

All that day we ſailed vp a branch of that riuer, hauing on the left hand a great Iland, which they call *Aſſapana* which may containe ſome fiue and twentie miles in length, and 6. miles in breadth, the great body of the riuer running on the other ſide of this Iland: Beyonde that middle branch there is alſo another Iland in the riuer, called *Iwana*, which is twiſe as big as the Iſle of *wight*, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of *Guiana*, runneth a third branch of *Orenoque* called *Arraroopana*: al three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ſhips. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at leaſt thirtie miles brode, reckoning the Ilandes which deuide the branches in it, for afterwardes I ſought alſo both the other braneches.

After we reached to the head of the Iland, called *Aſſapana*, a little to the weſtward on the right hande there opened a riuer which came from the north, called *Europa*, and fell into the great riuer, & beyond it, on the ſame ſide, we ankored for that night, by another Iland ſix miles long, and two miles brode, which they call *Ocaywita*: From hence in the morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the towne of *Toparimaca*, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that country called *Putyma*, a follower of *Topiawari*, chiefe Lord of *Arromaia*, who ſucceeded *Morequito*, whom (as you haue heard before) *Berreo* put to death, but his towne beeing farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, ſo as we ankored againe that night neere the bankes of another Iland, of bignes much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, on the maine lande, ouer againſt which Iland was a very high mountaine called *Oecope*:

we coueted to ankor rather by theſe Ilands in the riuer, than by the maine, becauſe of the *Tortugas* egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and alſo becauſe the ground ſerued better for vs to caſt our nets for fiſh, the maine banks being for the moſt part ſtonie and high, and the rocks of a blew mettaline colour, like vnto the beſt ſteele ore, which I aſſuredly take it to be: of the ſame blewe ſtone are alſo diuers greate mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The next morning towardes nine of the clocke, we weied ancor, & the brize encreaſing, we ſailed alwaies weſt vp the riuer, and after a while opening the lande on the right ſide, the country appeered to be champaine, and the banks ſhewed very perfect red: I therefore ſent two of the little barges with Captaine *Gifford*, and with captaine *Thyn*, captaine *Calfield*, my coſen *Greenvile*: my nephew *Io Gilbert*, captaine *Eynns*, maſter *Edw. Porter*, and my coſen *Butſhead Gorges*, with ſome fewe ſoldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to diſcouer what manner of countrey it was on the other ſide, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could diſcerne, from the higheſt tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell brother to the *Caſſique Toparimaca* told me, that thoſe were called the plaines of the *Sayma*, and that the ſame leuell reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the weſt Indies, which are 120. leagues to the north, and that there inhabited fower principall nations. The firſt were the *Sayma*, the next *Aſſawai*, the third and greateſt the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was ouer-

throwen

throwen, as he paſſed with three hundred horſe from *Cumana* towards *Orenoque*, in his enterprize of *Guiana*, the fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as blacke as *Negros*, but haue ſmooth haire, and theſe are very valiant, or rather deſperate people, and haue the moſt ſtrong poyſon on their arrowes, and moſt dangerous of all nations, of which poiſon I will ſpeake ſomwhat being a digreſſion not vnneceſſary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to finde out the true remedies of theſe poiſoned arrowes, for beſides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie ſhot indureth the moſt inſufferable torment in the world, and abideth a moſt vglie and lamentable death, ſometimes dying ſtarke mad, ſomtimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are preſently diſcolored, as blacke as pitch, and ſo vnſauery, as no man can endure to cure, or to attende them: And it is more ſtrange to knowe, that in all this time there was neuer *Spaniard*, eyther by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of thaſe Indians know it not, no not one among thouſands, but their ſouthſaiers and prieſts, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the ſonne.

Thoſe medicines which are vulgar, & ſerue for the ordinarie poyſon, are made of the iuice of a roote called *Tupara*: the ſame alſo quencheth maruellouſly the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other,

for *Anthonio de Berreo* told me that he could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof,& yet they taught me the beſt way of healing as well thereof,as al other poiſonne.*S*ome of the *S*paniards haue bin cured in ordinary wounds,of the common poiſoned arrowes with the ioice of garlike: but this is a general rule for al men that ſhall heereafter trauell the Indies where poiſoned arrowes are vſed,that they muſt abſtaine from drinke, for if they take any licor into their body, as they ſhall be maruellouſly prouoked therunto by drought,I ſay,if they drinke before the wound be dreſſed,or ſoone vpon it,there is no way with them but preſent death.

And ſo I wil returne again to our iourney which for the third day we finiſhed, and caſt ankor againe neere the continent, on the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio*: I made no ſtay heere but till midnight , for I feared howerly leaſt any raine ſhould fall , and then it had beene impoſſible to haue gone any further vp, notwithſtanding that there is euery day a very ſtrong brize,and eaſterly winde. I deferred the ſearch of the conntrie on *Guiana* ſide,till my returne downe the riuer. The next day wee failed by a great Iland, in the middle of the riuer, called *Manoripano* , and as wee walked a while on the Iland , while the *Galley* got a head of vs, there came after vs from the maine, a ſmall *Canoa* with ſeuen or eight *Guianians*, to inuite vs to ankor at their port,but I deferred it till my returne; It was that *Caſique* to whom thoſe *Nepoios* went,which came with vs from the towne of *Topirimaca*: and ſo the fift day wee reached as high vp as the *P*rouince of *Arromaia* the conntrey of *Morequito* whome *Berreo*

executed

executed, and anckored to the weſt of an Iland called *Murrecotimo*, ten miles long and fiue broade. and that night the *Caſſique Aramiari*, (to whoſe towne we made our long & hungry voiage out of the riuer of *Amana*) paſſed by vs.

The next day we arriued at the port of *Morequito*, and ankored there: ſending away one of our Pilots to ſeeke the king of *Aromaia*, vncle to *Morequito*, ſlaine by *Berreo* as aforeſaide. The next day following, before noone he came to vs on foote from his houſe, which was 14 Engliſh miles, (himſelf being 110. yeers old) & returned on foot the ſame daie, & with him many of the borderers, with many women & children, that came to woonder at our nation, and to bring vs down victuall, which they did in greate plentie, as veniſon, porke, hens, chickens, foule, fiſh, with diuers ſorts of excellent fruits, & rootes, and great abundance of *Pinas*, the princeſſe of fruits, that grow vnder the *Sun*, eſpecially thoſe of *Guiana*. They brought vs alſo ſtore of bread, and of their wine, & a ſort of *Paraquitos*, no bigger than wrens, and of all other ſorts both ſmall and great: one of them gaue me a beaſt called by the *Spaniards Armadilla*, which they call *Caſſacam*, which ſeemeth to bee all barred ouer with ſmall plates ſomewhat like to a *Renocero*, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horne, which they vſe to winde in ſteede of a trumpet. *Monardus* writeth that a little of the powder of that horn put into the eare, cureth deafnes.

After this olde king had reſted a while in a little tent, that I cauſed to be ſet vp, I began by my interpreter to diſcourſe with him of the dearh of *Morequito*

requito his predeceſſor, and afterwarde of the Spaniards, and ere *I* went anie farther I made him knowe the cauſe of my comming thither, whoſe ſeruaunt I was, and that the Queenes pleaſure was, I ſhoulde vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniardes, dilating at large (as *I* had done before to thoſe of *Trinedado*) her Maieſties greatneſſe, her iuſtice, her charitie to all oppreſſed Nations, with as manie of the reſt of her beauties and vertues, as eyther *I* coulde expreſſe, or they conceiue, all which being with great admiration attentiuelie hearde, and maruellouſlie admired, *I* began to ſounde the olde man as touching *Guiana*, and the ſtate thereof what ſorte of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what ſtrength and pollicy, howe farre it extended, and what Nations were friends or enemies adioyning, and finally of the diſtance, and way to enter the ſame: hee tolde me that himſelfe and his people with all thoſe downe the riuer towardes the ſea, as farre as *Emeria*, the Prouince of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themſelues *Orenoquepoms*, becauſe they bordered the greate riuer of *Orenoque*, and that all the Nations betweene the riuer and thoſe mountaines in ſight called *VVacarima*, were of the ſame caſt and appellation: and that on the other ſide of thoſe mountaines of *Wacarima* there was a large plaine (which after *I* diſcouered in my returne) called the valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that valley the people were alſo of the auncient *Guianians*. *I* aſked what nations thoſe were which inhabited on the further ſide of thoſe mountaines, beyond the valley of *Amariocapana*,

Amariocapana, he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his countrey and liberty, but especially for that his eldest son was slaine in a battel on that side of the mountaines, whom he most entirely loued,) he hath remembred in his fathers life time when he was very olde, and himselfe a yoong man that there came downe into that large valley of *Guiana*, a nation from so far off as the *Sun* slept, (for such were his owne words,) with so great a multitude as they could nor be numbred nor resisted, & that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed, by shewing a peece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epuremei*, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had now made themselues Lordes of all, euen to that mountaine foote called *Curaa*, sauing only of two nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri*, and the other *Cassipagotos*, and that in the last battell fought betweene the *Epuremei*, and the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aide of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a greate troupe of the *Orenequeponi*, and was there slaine, with al his people & friends, and that he had nowe remaining but one sonne: and farther tolde me that those *Epuremei* had built a great town called *Marcureguarai*, at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the greate plaines of *Guiana*, which haue no end: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the greate king of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremei* kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withall daily to inuade and slaie them:

them: but that of late yeares ſince the Chriſtians offred to inuade his territories, and thoſe frontires, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, ſauing onely the *Iwarawaqueri*, and thoſe other nations vpon the head of the riuer of *Caroli*, called *Caſſipagotos*, which we afterwards diſcouered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common enemie.

After he had anſwered thus far, he deſired leaue to depart, ſaying that he had far to go, that he was old, & weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was alſo his owne phraſe: I deſired him to reſt with vs that night, but I could not intreat him, but he tolde me that at my returne from the country aboue, he woulde againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the beſt he could, of all that his country yeelded: the ſame night hee returned to *Orocotona* his owne towne, ſo as he went that day 28. miles, the weather being very hot, the country being ſituate betweene 4. and 5. degrees of the *Equinoctiall*. This *Topiawari* is held for the proudeſt, and wiſeſt of all the *Orenoqueponi*, and ſo he behaued himſelfe towardes me in all his anſwers at my returne, as I maruelled to finde a man of that grauity and iudgement, and of ſo good diſcourſe, that had no helpe of learning nor breed.

The next morning we alſo left the porte, and ſailed weſtward vp the riuer, to view the famous riuer called *Caroli*, as well becauſe it was maruellous of it ſelfe, as alſo for that I vnderſtood it led to the ſtrongeſt nation of all the frontires, that were enemies to the *Epuremei*, which are ſubiect to *Inga*, Emperour of *Guiana*, and *Manoa*, and that night we ankored at another Iland called *Caiama*, of ſome fiue or ſixe miles

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in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of *Caroli*, when we were ſhort of it as low or further down as the port of *Morequito* we heard the great rore and fall of the riuer, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries thinking to haue gone vp ſome ſortie miles to the nations of the *Caſſipagotos*, we were not able with a barge of eight oares to rowe one ſtones caſt in an hower, and yet the riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and we tried both ſides, and the middle, and euery part of the riuer, ſo as we incamped vp on the bankes adioyning, and ſent off our *Orenoquepone* (which came with vs from *Morequito*) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the riuer of our being there, and that we deſired to ſee the Lords of *Canuria*, which dwealt within the prouince vpon that riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this riuers ſide that *Morequioo* ſlew the *Frier*, and thoſe nine Spaniards which came from *Manoa*, the Citie of *Inga*, and tooke from them 40000. peſoes of Golde) ſo the next daie there came downe a Lorde or *Caſſique* called *Wanuretona* with many people with him, and brought all ſtore of prouiſions to entertaine vs, as the reſt had done. And as I had before made my comming knowne to *Topiawari*, ſo did I acquaint this *Caſſique* therewith, and howe I was ſent by her Maieſty for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and gathered alſo what I could of him touching the eſtate of *Guiana*, and I founde that thoſe alſo of *Caroli* were not onely enemies to the Spaniardes but moſt of all to the *Epuremei*, which abounde in Gold, and by this *Warunetona*, I had knowledge that on the heade of this riuer were three mightie nations,

which were ſeated on a great lake, from whence this riuer deſcended, and were called *Caſſipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*, and that all thoſe eyther againſt the Spaniardes, or the *Epuremei* would ioine with vs, & that if we entred the lande ouer the mountaines of *Curaa*, wee ſhould ſatisfie our ſelues with golde and all other good thinges: hee tolde vs farther of a nation called *Iwarawaqueri* before ſpoken off, that held daily warre with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai* the firſt ciuill towne of *Guiana*, of the ſubiectes of *Inga* the Emperour.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine *George*, that I tooke with *Berreo* tolde me there was a greate ſiluer mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the ſaide riuer. But by this time as well *Orenoque*, *Caroli*, as all the reſt of the riuers were riſen fowre or fiue foote in height, ſo as it was not poſſible by the ſtrength of any men, or with any boate whatſoeuer to rowe into the riuer againſt the ſtreame. I therefore ſent Captain *Thyn*, Captaine *Greenuile*, my nephew *Iohn Gylbert*, my coſen *Butſhead Gorges*, Captaine *Clarke*, and ſome 30. ſhot more to coaſt the riuer by lande, and to goe to a towne ſome twentie miles ouer the valley called *Amnatapoi*, and they found guides there, to goe farther towardes the mountaine foote to another great towne, called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *Caſſique* called *Haharacoa* (that was a nephew to old *Topiawari* king of *Arromaia* our chiefeſt friend) becauſe this towne and prouince of *Capurepana* adioyned to *Macureguarai*, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my ſelfe with Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, *Edw. Hancocke*, & ſome halfe a doſen ſhot marched

marched ouer land to view the ſtrange ouerfals of the riuer of *Caroli*, which rored ſo farre of, & alſo to ſee the plaines adioyning & the reſt of the prouince of *Canuri*: I ſent alſo captaine *Whiddon*, *W. Connocke*, and ſome eight ſhot with them, to ſee if they coulde finde any minerall ſtone alongſt the riuers ſide. When we ronne to the tops of the firſt hils of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we beheld that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne down *Caroli*: and might from that mountaine ſee the riuer how it ran in three parts, about 20. miles off, and there appeared ſome ten or twelue ouerfals in ſight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it ſeeme, as it had beene all couered ouer with a great ſhower of rayne: and in ſome places wee tooke it at the firſt for a ſmoke that had riſen ouer ſome great towne. For mine owne parte I was wel perſwaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill foot man, but the reſt were all ſo deſirous to goe neere the ſaide ſtrange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better diſcerne the ſame. I neuer ſaw a more beawtifull countrey, nor more liuely proſpectes, hils ſo raiſed heere and there ouer the vallies, the riuer winding into diuers braunches, the plaines adioyning without buſh or ſtuble, all faire greene graſſe, the ground of hard ſand eaſy to march on, eyther for horſe or foote, the deare croſſing in euery path, the birds towardes the euening ſinging on euery tree with a thouſand ſeueral tunes, cranes & herons of white, crimſon, and carnation pearching on the riuers ſide, the ayre freſh with a gentle

easterlie wind, and euery stone that we stooped to take vp, promised either gold or siluer by his complexion. Your. L. shall see of many sortes, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered vnder the sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out heere and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall sparre aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veynes lie a fathome or two deepe in the rockes; But we wanted all thinges requisite saue onely our desires, and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To be shorte when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but cullored, and had not any gold fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be perswaded but is was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of *Marqueſite* with all, from *Trinedado*, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that al the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a spaniard of the *Caracas* who tolde me that it was *El Madre del oro*, & that the mine was farther in the ground. But it shall be found a weake pollicie in mee, eyther to betray my selfe, or my Countrey; with imaginations, neyther am I so farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill sauoures, bad fare, and many other mischieses that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the sunne couereth

not

not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine *Whiddon*, & our Chirurgion *Nicholl. Millechap* brought me a kind of stones like *Saphires*, what they may proue I know not, I shewed them to some of the *Orenoque-poni*, and they promised to bring me to a mountaine, that had of them verie large peeces growing Diamond wise: whether it bee Christall of the mountaine, *Bristoll Diomond*, or *Saphire*, I doe not yet knowe, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neare. On the left hand of this riuer *Caroli* are seated those nations which are called *Iwarawakery* before remembred, which are enemies to the *Epuremei*: and on the heade of it adioyning to the greate lake *Cassipa*, are situate those other nations which also resist *Inga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Cassepagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arrawaogtos*. I farther vnderstood that this lake of *Cassipa* is so large, as it is aboue one daies iourney for one of their *Canoas* to crosse, which may be some 40. miles, and that therein fall diuers riuers, and that greate store of graines of Golde are founde in the summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes in those braunches. There is also another goodly riuer beyond *Caroli* which is called *Arui*, which also runneth thorow the lake *Cassipa*, & falleth into *Orenoque* farther west, making all that land betweene *Caroli* and *Arui* an Iland, which is likewise a most beawtifull countrey. Next vnto *Arui* there are two riuers *Atoica* and *Caora*, and on that braunch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, whose heades appeare not aboue their shoulders, which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine

owne part I am resolued it is true, because euery child in the prouinces of *Arromaia* and *Canuri* affirme the same: they are call *Ewaipanoma*: they are reported to haue their eies in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breastes, & that a long train of haire groweth backward between their shoulders. The sonne of *Topiawari*, which I brought with mee into England tolde mee that they are the most mightie men of all the lande, and vse bowes, arrowes, and clubs thrice as bigge as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Orenoqueponi*, and that one of the *Iwarawakeri* tooke a prisoner of them the yeare before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of *Arromaia* his fathers Countrey: And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee tolde me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeares slaine manie hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chaunce to heare of them till I was come away, & if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by *Maundeuile*, whose reportes were held for fables many yeares, and yet since the East *Indies* were discouered, wee finde his relations true of such thinges as heeretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination, for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolued that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

When I came to *Cumana* in the west *Indies* afterwards by

by chaunce I ſpake with a ſpaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after he knew that I had beene in *Guiana*, and ſo farre directly weſt as *Caroli*, the firſt queſtion he asked me was whether I had ſeene anie of the *Ewaipanoma*, which are thoſe without heades: who being eſteemed a moſt honeſt man of his word, and in all thinges elſe, told me that he had ſeene many of them: I may not name him becauſe it may be for his diſaduantage, but he is well knowen to *Monſier Mucherons* ſonne of London, and to *Peter Muchcron* marchant of the *Flemiſh* ſhippe that was there in trade, who alſo heard what he auowed to be true of thoſe people. The fourth riuer to the weſt of *Caroli* is *Caſnero* which falleth into *Orenoque* on this ſide of *Amapaia*, and that riuer is greater then *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riſeth on the ſouth of *Guiana* from the mountaines which deuide *Guiana* from *Amazones*, and I thinke it to be nauigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, meanes, nor ſeaſon of the yeare, to ſearch thoſe riuers for the cauſes afore ſaid, the winter being come vpon vs, although the winter & ſummer as touching cold & heat differ not, neither do the trees euer ſencibly loſe their leaues, but haue alwaies fruit eyther ripe or green, & moſt of thē both bloſſoms, leaues, ripe fruit, & green at one time. But their winter onely conſiſteth of terrible raynes, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with manie greate ſtormes and guſtes, thunder, and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned. On the North ſide, the firſt riuer that falleth into *Orenoque* is *Cari*, beyond it on the ſame ſide is the riuer of *Limo*, between theſe two is a great nation of *Canibals*, and their

chiefe

chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer and is called *Acamacari*: at this towne is a continuall markette of womē for 3 or 4 hatchets a peece, they are bought by the *Arwacas*, and by them solde into the west Indies. To the west of *Limo* is the riuer *Pao*, beyonde it *Caturi*, beyond that *Voari* and *Capuri* which falleth out of the greate ruer of *Meta*, by which *Berreo* descended from *Nueuo reyno de granada*. To the westwarde of *Capuri* is the prouince of *Amapaia*, where *Berreo* wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the *Anebas*. Aboue *Amapaia*, towarde *Nueuo reyno* fall in, *Meta*, *Pato*, and *Cassanar*: to the west of these towardes the prouinces of the *Ashaguas & Cateitos* are the riuers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Vbarro*, and towardes the frontyer of *Peru* are the prouinces of *Thomebamda*, and *Caximalta*: adioyning to *Quito* in the North of *Peru* are the riuers of *Guiacar* and *Goauar*: and on the other side of the saide mountaines the riuer of *Papamene* which descendeth into *Maragnon or Amazones* passing through the prouince of the *Mutylones* where *Don Pedro de Osua* who was slaine by the traytour *Agiri* before rehearsed, built his *Brigrandes*, when hee sought *Guiana* by the waie of *Amazones*. Betweene *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous Iland in *Orenoque* now called *Baraquan* (For aboue *Meta* it is not knowne by the name of *Orenoque*) which is called *Athule*, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reasō of a most forcible ouerfall, and Current of waters: but in the eddy all smalles vessells may be drawen euen to *Peru* it selfe: But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will

leaue

leaue the reſt to the deſcription. This riuer of *Orenoque* is nauigable for ſhips little leſſe then 1000. miles, & for leſſer veſſels neere 2000. By (as aforeſaid) *Peru*, *Nueuo reyno*, & *Popaian*, may be inuaded: it alſo leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the prouinces of *Amapaia*, and *Anebas* which abound in gold: his branches of *Caſnero*, *Manta*, *Caora* deſcēd from the middle land and valley, which lieth betweene the eaſter prouince of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falles into the ſea betweene *Maragnon* and *Trinedado* in two degrees and a halfe, all which your Honours ſhall better perceiue in the generall diſcription of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nueuo reygno* the kingdom of *Popayan*, & *Roidas*, with the prouince of *Venſuella*, to the bay of *Vraba* behind *Cartagena*, weſtward: and to *Amazones* ſouthward. While we lay at ancour on the coaſt of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledg of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had founde out ſo many ſeuerall people, which were enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the nowe Conquerers: I thought it time loſt to linger any longet in that place, eſpecially for that the fury of *Orenoque* beganne daily to threaten vs with daungers in our returne, for no halfe day paſſed, but the riuer beganne to rage and ouerflow very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible ſhowers, and guſtes in great abundance: and withall, our men beganne to cry out for want of ſhift, for no man had place to beſtowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly waſht on his body for the moſt part ten times in one day: and we had nowe beene well neere a moneth, euery day paſſing to the weſtward, farther & farther from our ſhippes. We

therefore turned tovvards the eaſt, and ſpent the reſt of the time in diſcouering the riuer towardes the ſea, which we had not vievved, and vvhich vvas moſt materiall. The next day followving vve left the mouth of *Caroli*, and arriued againe at the port of *Morequito* where we were before (for paſſing downe the ſtreame we went without labour, and againſt the winde, little leſſe than 100. miles a day.) Aſſoon as I came to ancor I ſent away one forold *Topiawari*, with whom I much deſired to haue further conference, & alſo to deal with him for ſome one of his country, to bring with vs into England, as wel to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, (the time being now ſpent of any longer ſtay there) within three howers after my meſſenger came to him, he arriued alſo, and with him ſuch a rabble of all ſortes of people, and euery one loden with ſomewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies cluſtered thicke and threefold among their baſkets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had reſted a while in my tent, I ſhut out all but our ſelues, and my interpreter, and tolde him that I knewe that both the *Epuremei* and the Spaniardes were enemies to him, his country and nations: that the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and the other ſought to regaine the ſame from them both: And therefore I deſired him to inſtruct me what hee could, both of the paſſage into the golden partes of *Guiana*, and to the ciuill townes and apparrelled people of *Inga*. Hee gaue me an anſwere to this effect: firſt that hee coulde not perceiue that I meant to go onwarde towardes the Citie of *Manoa*, for neither the time of the yeare

ſerued

ſerued, neyther could he perceiue any ſufficient numbers for ſuch an enterprize: and if *I* did I was ſure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that ſtrength, as that many times ſo many men more were too few: beſides he gaue me this good counſel and aduiſed me to holde it in minde (as for himſelfe he knew hee coulde not liue till my returne) that *I* ſhoulde not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the ſtrong partes of *Guiana* without the helpe of all thoſe nations which were alſo their enimies: for that it was impoſsible without thoſe, eyther to be conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in ſo great heate and trauell, vnleſſe the borderers gaue them helpe, to carry with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of *Macureguarai* 300. *S*paniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes, but meeting their enemies as they paſſed their frontier, were inuironed of all ſides, & the people ſetting the long dry graſſe on fire, ſmothered them, ſo as they had no breth to fight, nor could diſcerne their enemies for the greate ſmoke. He told me farther that fower daies iourney from his towne was *Macureguarai*, and that thoſe were the next, & neareſt of the ſubiectes of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the firſt towne of apparrelled and rich people, and that all thoſe plates of Golde which were ſcatterred among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the ſaide *Marcureguarai* and were there made, but that thoſe of the lande within were farre finer, and were

faſhioned after the Image of men, beſtes, birdes, and fiſhes. I asked him whether hee thought that thoſe companies that I had there with me, were ſufficient to take that towne or no; hee told mee that he thought they were. I then asked him whether hee woulde aſſiſt me with guides, & ſome companies of his people to ioyn with vs, he anſwered that he would go himſelf with all the borderers, if the riuers did remaine formable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my returne againe fifty ſoldiers, which he vndertooke to victuall: I anſwered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the reſt were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouiſion to leaue with them of powder, ſhot, apparell, or ought elſe, and that without thoſe thinges neceſſary for their defence, they ſhoulde bee in danger of the Spaniardes in my abſence, who I knevv vvould vſe the ſame meaſure towardes mine, that I offered them at *Trinedado*. And although vpon the motion Captaine *Calfielde*, Captaine *Grenuile*, my *Nephwe*, *Iohn Gylbert* and diuers others were deſirous to ſtaie, yet I was reſolued that they muſt needes haue periſht, for *Berreo* expected dailie a ſupplie out of Spaine, and looked alſo howrlie for his ſonne to come dovvne from *Nueuo reyno de granada*, vvith manie horſe and foote, and had alſo in *Valentia* in the *Caracas*. 200. horſe readie to march, and I coulde not haue ſpared aboue forty, and had not anie ſtore at all of povvder, leade, or match to haue left vvith them, nor any other prouiſion, eyther ſpade, pickeaxe, or ought elſe to haue fortified vvithall. When I had giuen him reaſon that I could not at this time leaue him ſuch a cõpany

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he then desired me to forbeare him, and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I shoulde bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those *Epuremei* would inuade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee shoulde anie way either guide vs, or assist vs against them. Hee further alledged that the *S*paniards sought his death and as they had alreadie murthered his Nephew *Morequito* Lorde of that prouince, so they had him 17. daies in a chaine before hee was king of the Countrey, and led him like a dogge from place to place vntill hee had paied 100. plates of Golde, and diuers chaines of spleen stones for his ransome: and nowe since hee became owner of that prouince that they had many times laide waite to take him, and that they would bee now more vehement when they shoulde vnderstand of his conference with the Englisth, and because saide hee, they would the better displant mee if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called *Eparacano* whom they haue christened *Don Iuan* and his sonne *Don Pedro*, whome they haue also apparelled and armed, by whome they seeke to make a partie against mee, in mine owne countrie: hee also had taken to wife one *Louiana* of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe being now old and in the hands of death, and not able to trauell nor to shifte, as when *I* was of younger yeares: he therefore praied vs to deferre it till the next yere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would bee more seasonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeare, wee should not be able to passe

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any riuer, the waters were & woulde be ſo growen ere our returne. Hee farther told me that I could not deſire ſo much toiuuade *Macureguarai*, & the reſt of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehemẽt thẽ I, for he yelded for a chiefe cauſe that in the wars with the *Epuremei*, they were ſpoyled of their women, and that their wiues aud daughters were taken from them, ſo as for their owne parts they deſired nothing of the gold or treaſure, for their labours, but only to recouer women from the *Epuremei*: for hee farther complayned very ſadly (as it had beene a matter of greate conſequence) that whereas they were wont to haue ten or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themſelues with three or fower, & that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50, or 100. And in truth they warr more for women then either for gold or dominiõ. For the Lords of countries deſire many children of their owne bodies, to increaſe their race and kindreds, for in thoſe conſiſt their greateſt truſt and ſtrength. Diuers of his followers afterwards deſired me to make haſt againe, that they might ſacke the *Epuremei*, and I asked them of what? they anſwered. of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of manie of thoſe women they more deſire the warre, then either for gold or for the recouery of their auncient territories. For what betweene the ſubiects of *Inga*, & the Spaniards, thoſe frontiers are growen thinne of people, and alſo greate numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniardes. After I receaued this aunſwere of the olde man, we fell into conſideration, whether it had beene of better aduice to haue entred *Macureguarai*, and

and to haue begunne warre vpon *Inga* at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeare, and all things elſe had ſorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers neither had any ſuch ſtrength as was requiſite, and durſt not abide the comming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ſhippes) I thought it were euill counſell to haue attempted it at that time, although the deſire of golde will anſwere many obiections: But it woulde haue beene in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the ſame ſhould be hereafter by her Maieſty attempted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were ſent by her Maieſty to relieue them) they would as good cheape haue ioyned with the Spaniardes at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both ſought but to ſacke and ſpoyle them, but as yet our deſire of gold, or our purpoſe of inuaſion is not knowen vnto thoſe of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maieſty vndertake the enterprize, they will rather ſubmit themſelues to her obedience then to the *Spaniards*, of whoſe cruelty both themſelues and the borderers haue already taſted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maieſties pleaſure, I would rather haue loſt the ſacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of ſo many millions, and the great good, & rich trade which England may bee poſſeſſed off thereby. I am aſſured nowe that they will all die euen to the laſt man againſt the Spaniardes in hope of our ſuccoure and returne: whereas otherwiſe if I had

either laid hands on the borderers, and ranſomed the Lords as *Berreo* did, or in inuaded the ſubiectes of *Inga*, I knowe all had beene loſt for heereafter. And that I had reſolued *Topiawari* Lord of *Aromaia* that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he deſired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize againſt the *Epuremei* till the next yeare, the freely gaue me his onely ſonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though he himſelfe had but a ſhort time to liue, and that by our meanes his ſonne ſhould be eſtabliſhed after his death: and I left with him one *Frauncis Sparrow*, a ſeruant of captaine *Gifford* (who was deſirous to tary, and could deſcribe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learne the language. I after asked the manner hovv the *Epuremei* vvrought thoſe plates of golde, and how they could melt it out of the ſtone; he tolde me that they moſt of the gold which they made in plates and images vvas not ſeuered from the ſtone, but that on the lake of *Manoa*, & in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as big as ſmall ſtones, and that they put it to a part of copper, othervviſe they could not vvorke it, & that they vſed a great earthen pot vvith holes round about it, and vvhen they had mingled the gold & copper together, they faſhioned canes to the hole, and ſo vvith the breath of men they increaſed the fire till the mettel ran, and then they caſt it into moulds of ſtone & clay, and ſo mkae the plants and Images. I haue ſent your Honours of tvvo ſorts ſuch as coulde by chaunce recouer, more to ſhevv the maner of them, then for the value: for I did not in any ſort make my deſire of gold knovven

knowen, becauſe I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peſoes of Golde then I receiued of the new money of 20. ſhillings with her Maieſties picture to weare, with promiſe that they would become her ſeruantes thenceforth.

I haue alſo ſent your Honors of the oare, whereof I knowe ſome is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is ſufficient, if nothing elſe were to be hoped for. But beſides that we were not able to tary and ſearch the hils, ſo we had neither pioners, bars, ſledges, nor wedges of Iron, to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but we ſaw all the hils with ſtones of the colour of Golde and ſiluer, and we tried them to be no *Marqueſite*, and therefore ſuch as the Spaniards call *El Madre del oro*, which is an vndoubted aſſurance of the generall abundance: and my ſelfe ſawe the outſide of many mines of the white ſparre, which I know to be the ſame that all couet in this worlde, and of thoſe, more then I will ſpeake of.

Hauing learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and receiued a faithfull promiſe of the principalleſt of thoſe prouinces to become ſeruantes to her Maieſtie, and to reſiſt the Spaniardes, if they made any attempt in our abſence, and that they woulde drawe in the nations about the lake of *Caſſipa*, and thoſe *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from olde *Topiawari*, and receiued his ſonne for as pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours a aforeſaid: To *Frauncis Sparrowe I* gaue inſtructions to trauell to *Macureguarai*, with ſuch marchandizes as I left with him,

therb y to learne the place, and if it were possible to go on, to the great City of *Manoa*: which beeing done, we weyed ancor, and coasted the riuer on *Guiana* side, becausе we came vp on the north side, by the launes of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with vs from *Aromaia*, a *Cassique* called *Putijma*, that commaunded the prouince of *Warapana*, (which *Putijma* shewe the nyne Spaniardes vppon *Caroli* before spoken of,) who desired vs to rest at the porte of his Countrey, promising to bring vs to a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of Golde, which he performed: And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the gentlemen of my company, ouer lande towardes the saide mountaine, marching by a riuers side called *Mana*, leauing on the right hande a towne called *Tuteritona*, standing in the prouince of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principall: Beyonde it lyeth another towne towardes the south, in the valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the name of the saide valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some 60. miles in length, east and west, as faire grounde, and as beawtifull fieldes, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copses scattered heere and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deare, as any forrest or parke in England, and in euery lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and fowle of which *Irraparrogota* is Lord.

From the riuer of *Mana*, we croste another riuer in the saide beawtifull valley called *Oiana*, and rested our selues by a cleare lake, which lay in the middle of the saide *Oiana*, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with

two

two ſtickes, we ſtaied a while to dry our ſhirts, which with the heat hong very weete & heauy on our ſhoulders. Afterwards we ſought the ford to paſſe ouer towards the mountain called *Iconuri*, where *Putijma* fore told vs of the mine. In this lake we ſaw one of the great fiſhes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call *Manati*, and it is moſt excellent and holſome meate. But after I perceiued, that to paſſe the ſaid riuer would require halfe a daies march more, *I* was not able my ſelf to indure it, and therefore I ſent Captaine *Keymis* with ſix ſhotte to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of *Putijma*, which is called *Chiparepare*, but to take leaſure, and to march downe the ſaide valley, as farre as a riuer called *Cumaca*, where I promiſed to meete him againe, *Putijma* himſelfe promiſing alſo to be his guide,) and as they marched, they left the towns of *Emparepana*, and *Capurepana*, on the right hande, and marched from *Putijmas* houſe, downe the ſaide valley of *Amarioeapana*, and wee returning the ſame daie to the riuers ſide, ſawe by the way many rockes, like vnto Golde oare, and on the left hand, a rounde mountaine which conſiſted of minerall ſtone.

From hence we rowed down the ſtreame, coaſting the prouince of *Parino*; As for the braunches of riuers which I ouerpas in this diſcourſe, thoſe ſhall be better expreſſed in the deſcription, with the mountaines of *Aio*, *Ara*, & the reſt, which are ſituate in the prouinces of *Parino* and *Carricurrina*. When wee were come as farre downe as the lande called *Arriacoa*, (where *Orenoque* deuided it ſelfe into three great braunches, each of them beeing moſt goodly riuers) I ſent away

Captayne *Henry Thyn*, and Captayne *Greeneuile* with the Galley, the neareſt way: and tooke with me Captaine *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfielde*: *Edwarde Porter*, and Captaine *Eynos* with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that braunch of *Orenoque*, which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria* the prouince of *Carapana*, and towardes the eaſt ſea, as well to finde out Captaine *Keymis*, whome I had ſent ouer lande, as alſo to acquaint my ſelfe with *Carapana*, who is one of the greateſt of all the Lords of the *Orenoqueponi*, and when we came to the riuer of *Cumaca* (to which *Putyma* promiſed to conduct Captaine *Keymis*) I left Captaine *Eynos* and Maſter *Porter* in the ſaide riuer to expect his comming, and the reſt of vs rowed downe the ſtreame towardes *Emeria*.

In this braunch called *Cararopana* were alſo many goodlie Ilandes, ſome of ſixe miles long, ſome of tenne, and ſome of Twentie, when it grewe towardes ſunne ſet, wee entred a braunch of a riuer that fel into *Orenoque* called *VVinecapora*, where I was enformed of the mountaine of Criſtall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill ſeaſon of the yeare, *I* was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee ſaw it a farre off and it appeared like a whit Church towre of an exceeding height: There falleth ouer it a mightie riuer vvhich toucheth no parte of the ſide of the mountaine, but ruſheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the grounde vvith a terryble noyſe and clamor, as if 1000. great belles vvere knockt one againſt another. I thinke there is not in the vvorlde ſo ſtraunge an ouerfall, nor ſo vvonderful

wonderfull to beholde. *Berreo* tolde mee that it hath Diamondes and other precious ſtones on it, and that they ſhined very farre off: but what it hath I knowe not, neyther durſt hee or anie of his men aſcende to the toppe of the ſaide mountaine, thoſe people adioyning beeing his enemies (as they were) and the way to it ſo impaſſible.

Vpon this riuer of *Winacapora* wee reſted a while, and from thence marched into the Countrey to a towne called after the name of the riuer, whereof the chiefe was one *Timitwara*, who alſo offered to conduct mee to the toppe of the ſaide mountaine called *Wacarima*: But when wee came in firſt to the houſe of the ſaide *Timitwara*, beeing vppon one of their feaſt daies, we founde them all as drunke as beggers, and the pottes walking from one to another without reſt: wee that were wearie, and hote with marching, were glad of the plentie, though a ſmall quantitie ſatiſfied vs, their drinke being verie ſtrong and headie, and ſo reſted our ſelues a while: after wee had fedde, wee drewe our ſelues backe to our boats, vppon the riuer, and there came to vs all the Lordes of the Countrey, with all ſuch kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of *Pinas*, and with aboundance of hens, and other prouiſions, and of thoſe ſtones which wee call *S*pleene-ſtones. Wee vnderſtood by theſe chiefetaines of *Winicapora*, that their Lorde *Carapana* was departed from *Emeria* which was nowe in ſight, and that hee was fledde to *Cairamo*, adioyning to the mountaines of *Guiana*, ouer the valley called *Amariocapana*, beeing perſwaded by thoſe tenne Spanyardes which

lay at his houſe, that we woulde deſtroy him, & his countrey.

But after theſe *Caſiqui* of *VVinicapora* and *Saporatona* his followers perceiued our purpoſe, and ſawe that we came as enemies to the Spanyardes onelie, and had not ſo much as harmed anie of thoſe nations, no though wee founde them to bee of the Spanyardes owne ſeruauntes, they aſſured vs that *Carapana* woulde bee as readie to ſerue vs, as any of the Lordes of the prouinces, which we had paſſed: and that hee durſt doe no other till this daie but entertayne the Spanyardes, his countrey lying ſo directlie in their waie, and the next of al other to any enterance that ſhoulde be made in *Guiana* on that ſide.

And they farther aſſured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that hee was remoued, but to bee acquited of thoſe Spanyardes or any other that ſhoulde come heereafter. For the prouince of *Cairoma* is ſituate at the mountaine foot, which deuideth the plaines of *Guiana:* from the countries of the *Orenoquepons*: by meanes whereof if any ſhoulde come in our abſence into his townes, hee woulde ſlippe ouer the mountaines into the playnes of *Guiana* amonge the *Epuremei*, where the Spanyardes durſte not followe him without greate force.

But in mine opinion, or rather *I* aſſure my ſelfe, that *Carapana* (being a notable wiſe and ſubtile fellowe, a man of one hundred yeares of age, and therefore of greate experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if hee finde that we returne ſtronge,

hee

hee will bee ours, if not, he wil excuſe his departure to the Spaniardes, and ſay it was for feare of our comming.

We therefore thought it booteles to rowe ſo farre downe the ſtreame, or to ſeeke any farther for this old fox: and therefore from the riuer of *Waricapana* [which lieth at the entrance of *Emeria*] we turned againe, and left to the eaſtward thoſe 4 riuers which fall from out the mountaines of *Emeria* into *Orenoque*, which are *Waracapari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: belowe thoſe 4 are alſo theſe branches and mouthes of *Orenoque*, which fall into the eaſt ſea, whereof the firſt is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fift *Morooca*, the ſixte *Paroma* the laſt *Wymi*: beyonde them, there fall out of the land betweene *Orenoque* and *Amazones* 14. riuers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Caniballes*.

It is nowe time to returne towards the North, and we founde it a weariſome way backe, from the borders of *Emeria*, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer *Carerupana*, by which we deſcended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the Porte of *Toparimaca*, by which we entred firſt.

All the night it was ſtormie and darke, and full of thunder and great ſhowers, ſo as wee were driuen to keepe cloſe by the bankes in our ſmall boates, being all heartely afraid both of the billowe, and terrible Current of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of *Cumaca*, where we left Captaine *Eynis* and *Edward Porter* to attende

the comming of captaine *Keymis* ouer land: but when we entred the ſame, they had heard no newes of his ariuall, which bredde in vs a great doubt what might be become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, ſhooting off peeces all the waie, that he might know of our beeing there: and the next morning we heard them anſwere vs elſo with a peece: we tooke them abord vs, and tooke our leaue of *Putyma* their guide, who of all others moſt lamented our departure, and offred to ſend his ſonne with vs into England, if we could haue ſtaide till he had ſent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to beholde the great rage and increaſe of *Orenoque*, and therefore departed, and turned toward the weſt, till we had recouered the parting of the 3. braunches aforeſaide, that we might put downe the ſtreame after the Galley.

The next day we landed on the Iland of *Aſſapana*, (which deuideth the riuer from that braunch by which we went downe to *Emeria*) and there feaſted our ſelues with that beaſt which is called *Armadilla* preſented vnto vs before at *Winicapora*, and the day following we recouered the galley at ancor at the port of *Toparimaca*, and the ſame euening departed with verie fowle weather and terrible thunder, and ſhowers, for the vvinter vvas come on very farre: the beſt vvas, vve went no leſſe than 100. miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impoſſible to return, for that the riuer of *Amana*, being in the bottome of the bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be ſailed backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the ſea were ſo forcible, and therefore vve followved a braunch of

Orenoque

Orenoque called *Capuri*, which entred into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede; for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea, after wee came to the riuers mouth as betweene *Grauelyn* & *Douer*, in such boats as your Ho: haue heard

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the riuers, Ilands, or villages of the *Tiuitiuas* which dwell on trees, we will leaue all those to the generall mappe. And to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side then grewe our greatest doubt, and the bittereſt of all our iourney forepassed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the mouth of the riuer of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part, I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, eyther to go ouer in the pestred Galley, there being but six foote water ouer the sands, for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, & she drew fiue: or to aduenture in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captain *Gifford*, Captaine *Calfield*, & my cosen *Greeneuile*, into my barge, and after it cleared vppe, about midnight wee put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at ancor, who

durſt not aduenture but by day light: And ſo being all very ſober, and melancholy, one faintely chearing another to ſhew courage, it pleaſed God that the next day about nine of the clocke, we deſcried the Iland of *Trinedado*, and ſtearing for the neareſt part of it, wee kept the ſhore til we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ſhips at ancor, then which, there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull ſight.

Now that it hath pleaſed God to ſend vs ſafe to our ſhips, it is time to leaue *Guiana* to the Sunne, whom they worſhip, and ſteare away towards the north: I will therefore in a few wordes finiſh the diſcouerie thereof. Of the ſeuerall nations which we found vpon this diſcouery I will once againe make repetition, and how they are affected. At our firſt entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the outlets of *Orenoque*, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly againſt *Trinedado*, a nation of inhumaine *Canibals*, which inhabite the riuers of *Guanipa* and *Berreeſe*; in the ſame bay there is alſo a third riuer which is called *Areo*, which riſeth on *Paria* ſide towardes *Cumana*, and that riuer is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whoſe chiefe towne vpon the ſaid riuer is *Sayma*; In this bay there are no more riuers, but theſe three before rehearſed, and the fowler braunches of *Amana*, all which in the winter thruſt ſo greate abundance of water into the ſea, as the ſame is taken vp freſh, two or three leagues from the land. In the paſſages towards *Guiana*, (that is, in all thoſe landes which the eight branches of *Orenoque* faſhione into Ilandes,) there are but one ſort of People called *Tiuitinas*, but of two caſtes as they tearme them, the one called *Ciawarij*, the

the other *VVaraweeti*: and those warre one with the other.

On the highermost part of *Orenoque*, as at *Toparima ca* and *Winicapora*, those are of a nation Called *Nepoios* and are of the followers of *Carapana*, Lorde of *Emeria*, Betweene *Winicapora* and the port of *Morequito* which standeth in *Aromaia*, and all those in the valley of *Amariscapana* are called *Orenoqueponi*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are nowe followers of *Topiawari*. Vpon the riuer of *Caroli*, are the *Canuri* which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that prouince) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked mee diuers questions of her Maiestie, beeing much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnes, and wondring at such reportes as we truely made of her highnes many vertues And vpon the head of *Caroli*, and on the lake of *Casipa* are the three strong Nations of the *Cassipagotos*, Right south into the Lande are the *Capurepani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond those adioyning to *Macureguarai*, (the first Citie of *Inga*,) are the *Iwarawakeri*: all these are professed enemies to the *S*paniardes, and to the rich *Epuremei* also. To the west of *Caroli* are diuers nations of *Canibals*, and of those *Ewaipanoma* without heades. Directly west are the *Amapains* and *Anebas*, which are also marueilous rich in gold. The rest towardes *Peru* wee will omit. On the north of *Orenoque*, betweene it and the west *I*ndies are the *Wikiri*, *Saimi*, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the *S*panyardes. On the south side of the maine mouth of *Orenoque*, are the *Arwacas*: and beyond them the *Canibals*,

and to the south of them the *Amazones*.

To make mention of the seuerall beasts, birds, fishes, fruites, flowers, gummes, sweete woods, and of their seueral religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the rest another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the *Epuremei* is the same which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* vsed, which may bee red in *Cieca*, and other Spanish stories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, worship the Sunne, and bury with them aliue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in *Pegu* in the east Indies, and other places. The *Orenoqueponi* bury not their wiues with them, but their Iewels, hoping to enioy them againe. The *Arwacas* dry the bones of their Lordes, and their wiues and friendes drinke them in powder. In the graue of the *Peruuians*, the Spanyards founde their greatest abundance of treasure. The like also is to be found among these people in euery prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lordes fiue folde to the common sort: their wiues neuer eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbandes at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselues. Those that are past their yonger yeares, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beddes, and do all else of seruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunte, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and becausse I haue not my selfe seen the cities of *Inga*, I cānot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces

ces in *Guiana*, as his anceſtors did in *Peru*, which were for their riches and rarenes moſt marueilous & exceding al in *Europe*, and I thinke of the worlde, *China* excepted, which alſo the Spanyards (which I had) aſſured me to be of trueth, as alſo the nations of the borderers, who being but *Saluaios*, to thoſe of the Inland, do caſue much treaſure to bee buried with them, for I was enformed of one of the *Caſiqui* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a little before our arriual, a chaire of Golde moſt curiouſly wrought which was made either in *Macureguarai* adioyning, or in *Manoa*: But if we ſhoulde haue grieued them in their religion at the firſt, before they had beene taught better, and haue digged vppe their graues, wee had loſt them all: and therefore I held my firſt reſolution, that her Maieſtie ſhould eyther accept or refuſe the enterprize, ere anie thing ſhoulde be done that might in that ſort hinder the ſame. And if *Peru* had ſo manie heapes of Golde, whereof thoſe *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted ſo much therin, no doubt but this which now liueth and raigneth in *Manoa*, hath the ſame humour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of Golde, within his territory, then all *Peru*, and the weſt Indies.

For the reſt, which my ſelfe haue ſeen *I* wil promiſe theſe things that follow and know to bee true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcouer and to ſee many Nations, may bee ſatisfied within this riuer, which bringeth forth ſo many armes, & branches leading to ſeue rall countries & prouinces, aboue 2000. miles eaſt & weſt, and 800. miles ſouth and north: and of theſe, the moſt eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes.

The common ſoldier ſhall here fight for gold, & pay himſelfe in ſteede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in other wars for prouant and penury. Thoſe commanders and Chieftaines, that ſhoote at honour, and abundance, ſhall finde there more rich and bewtifull Cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more ſepulchers filled with treaſure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico* or *Pazzaro* in *Peru*: and the ſhining glorie of this conqueſt will eclipſe all theſe ſo farre extended beames of the Spaniſh nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleaſure to the inhabitants, either for theſe common delights of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, fowling, and the reſt, then *Guiana* doth. It hath ſo many plaines, cleare riuers, abundance of *Pheſants*, *Partridges*, Quailes, Rayles, Cranes, Herons, and al other fowle: Deare of al ſorts, *Porkes*, *Hares*, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other ſorts of beaſtes, eyther for chace, or foode. It hath a kind of beaſt called *Cama*, or *Anta*, as bigge as an Engliſh beefe, and in a great plenty.

To ſpeake of the ſeuerall ſortes of euery kinde, I feare would be troubleſome to the *Reader*, & therfore I will omitte them, and couclude that both for health, good ayre, pleaſure, and riches. I am reſolued it cannot bee equalled by anie region eyther in the eaſt or weſt. Moreouer the countrey is ſo healthfull, as 100. perſons and more, which lay (without ſhift moſt ſluttiſhly, & were euery day almoſt melted with heat in rowing & marching, and ſuddenly wette again with great ſhowers, and did eate of all ſorts of corrupt fruits, & made meales of freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning,

of

of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, & of all sortes good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open ayre euery night) we lost not any one nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any *Calentura*, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hote regions, and so neere the Equonictial line.

Where there is store of Gold, it is in effect nedles to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the south part of the riuer, great quantities of Brasill wood, & of diuers berries, that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: And for painting, al *France*, *Italy*, or the east Indies yeeld none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fayrer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen those browne and tawny women spot themselues, and colour their cheekes. All places yeelde abundance of cotten, of silke, of *Balsamum*, and those kindes most excellent, and neuer knowen in Europe: of all sortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afforde within the land we knowe not, neyther had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie suger, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the west Indies hath.

The nauigation is short, for it may bee sayled with and ordinarie wind in six weeks, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore. Enimies coast, rocks, nor sandes, all which in the voiages to the west Indies, & all other places, wee are subiect vnto, as the channell of *Bahama*, comming from the west Indies, can not be passed in the winter, and when it is at the best, it is a

perillous and a fearefull place: The reſt of the Indies for calmes, and diſeaſes very troubleſome, and the *Bermudas* a helliſh ſea for thunder, lightening, and ſtormes.

This very yeare there were ſeuenteene ſaile of Spaniſh ſhippes loſt in the channell of *Bahama*, and the great *Phillip* like to haue ſunke at the *Bermudas* was put back to Saint *Iuan de puerto rico*. And ſo it falleth out in that nauigation euery yeare for the moſt part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of the yeare to leaue *England*, is beſt in Iuly, and the ſummer in *Guiana* is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie and March, and then the ſhips may depart thence in Aprill, and ſo returne againe into England in Iune, ſo as they ſhall neuer be ſubiect to winter weather, eyther comming, going, or ſtaying there, which for my part, *I* take to be one of the greatteſt comforts and incouragements that can be thought on hauing, (as I haue done) taſted in this voyage by the weſt Indies ſo many Calmes, ſo much heate, ſuch outragious guſtes, fowle weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer ſackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and ſalt of the ſoyle ſpent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with ſledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of ſtrength, and neuer conquered or poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince. It is beſides ſo defencible, that if two fortes be builded in on of the priuinces which I haue

haue ſeen, the flood ſetteth in ſo neere the bank, where the channel alſo lyeth, that no ſhippe can paſſe vp, but within a Pickes length of the Artillerie, firſt of the one, and afterwardes of the other: Which two Fortes wilbe a ſufficient Guarde both of the *Empire* of *Inga*, and to an hundred other ſeuerall kingdomes, lying within the ſaid riuer, euen to the citie of *Quito in Peru*.

There is therefore great difference betweene the eaſines of the conqueſt of *Guiana*, & the difference of it being conquered, and the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: *Guiana* hath but one entrance by the ſea (if it haue that) for any veſſels of burden, ſo as whoſoeuer ſhall firſt poſſeſſe it, it ſhall be founde vnacceſſable for anie Enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Canoas*, or elſe in flatte bottomed boats, and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are ſo thicke 200. miles together vpon the riuers of ſuch entrance, as a mouſe cannot ſitte in a boate vnhit from the banke. By land it is more impoſſible to approach, for it hath the ſtrongeſt ſituation of any region vnder the Sunne, and is ſo inuironed with impaſſable mountaines on euerie ſide, as it is impoſſible to victuall any companie in the paſſage, which hath beene well proued by the Spaniſh nation, who ſince the conqueſt of *Peru* haue neuer left fiue yeares free from attempting the Empyre, or diſcouering ſome way into it, and yet of 23. ſeuerall gentlemen, knights, and noble men, there was neuer anie that knewe which way to leade an armie by lande, or to conduct ſhippes by ſea, any thing neere the ſaide countrie. *Oreliano*, of which the riuer

of *Amazones* taketh name was the firſt, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whom we diſplanted) the laſt and I doubt much, whether hee himſelfe or any of his, yet knowe the beſt waie into the ſaide Empyre. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any ſtrength bee formerly ſet downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumſters or galleys buylt, and furniſhed vpon the riuer within: The weſt Indies hath many portes, watring places, and landings, and nearer then 300. miles to *Guiana*, no man can harbor a ſhip, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haſt, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of any companies that knoweth, whoſoeuer hearkened moſt after it.

Beſides by keeping one good fort, or building one towne of ſtrength, the whole Epyre is guarded, and whatſoeuer companies ſhalbe afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie ſeuerall prouinces, thoſe ſhall be able all to reunite themſelues vpon any occaſion eyther by the way of one riuer, or bee able to march by land without eyther wood, bog, or mountaine: whereas in the weſt Indies there are fewe townes, or prouinces that can ſuccour or relieue one another, eyther by lande or ſea: By lande the countries are eyther deſart, mountaynous, or ſtrong Enemies: By ſea, if any man inuade to the Eaſtward, thoſe to the weſt cannot in many months turn againſt the brizſe and eaſtwind, beſides the Spaniardes are therein ſo diſperſed, as they are no where ſtrong, but in *Nueua Hiſpania* onely: the ſharpe mountaines, the thorns, & poiſoned prickels, the ſandy & deepe waies in the vallies, the ſmothering heat and aire, and want

of water in other places, as their onely and beſt defence, which becauſe thoſe nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to ſtay, neyther haue any place to friende adioyning) doe ſerue them in ſteede of good armes and great multitudes.

The weſt Indies were firſt offered her Maieſties Grandfather by *Columbus* a ſtraunger, in whom there might bee doubt of deceipt, and beſides it was then thought incredible that there were ſuch and ſo many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maieſty by her own vaſſal, & by him that oweth to her more duety then an ordinary ſubiect, ſo that it ſhall ill ſort with the many graces and beneſits which I haue receiued to abuſe her highnes, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is already diſcouered, many nations won to her Maieſties loue & obediẽce, & thoſe Spaniards which haue lateſt and longeſt labored about the conqueſt, beaten out, diſcouraged and diſgraced, which among theſe nations were thought inuincible. *Her* maieſtie may in this enterprize employ all thoſe ſouldiers & gentle men that are younger brethren, and al captaines & Cheiftaines that want employment, and the charge wilbe onely the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them: for after the firſt or ſecond yeare I doubt not but to ſee in London a Contratation houſe of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is now in ciuill for the Weſt indies.

And I am reſolued that if there were but a ſmal army a foote in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chiefe city of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maieſty by compo

ſition ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yearely, as ſhould both defende all enemies abroad, & defray all expences at home, and that he woulde beſides pay a garriſon of 3000. or 4000. ſoldiers very royally to defend him againſt other nations: For hee cannot but know, how his predeceſſors, yea how his owne greate vncles *Cuaſcar* and *Atibalipa* ſonnes to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empyre) beaten out by the *S*panyardes, and that both of late yeares, and euer ſince the ſaide conqueſt, the *S*panyardes haue ſought the paſſages and entry of his countrey: and of their cruelties vſed to the borderers he cannot be ignorãt. In which reſpects no doubt but he wil be brought to tribute with great gladnes, if not, he hath neither ſhotte nor Iron weapon in all his *E*mpyre, and therefore may eaſely be conquered.

And I farther remember that *Berreo* confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the Maieſtie of God to be true) that there was found among propheties in *Peru* (at ſuch time as the Empyre was reduced to the *S*paniſh obediẽce) in their chiefeſt temples, amongſt diuers others which foreſhewed the loſſe of the ſaid Empyre, that frõ *Inglatierra* thoſe *Ingas* ſhould be againe in time to come reſtored, & deliuered from the ſeruitude of the ſaid Conquerors. And I hope, as wee with theſe fewe handes haue diſplanted the firſt garriſon, and driuen them out of the ſaid countrey, ſo her Maieſty will giue order for the reſt, and eyther defend it, and hold it as tributary or conquere & keepe it as Empreſſe of the ſame. For whatſoeuer Prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, ſhall bee greateſt, and if the king of

*S*payne

Spayne enioy it, hee will become vnreſiſtable. Her Maieſty heereby ſhall confirme and ſtrengthen the opinions of al nations, as touching her great & princely actions. And where the ſouth border of *Guiana* reacheth to the *D*ominion and Empire of the *Amazones*, thoſe women ſhall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but alſo to inuade and conquere ſo great Empyres and ſo farre remoued.

To ſpeake more at this time, I feare would be but troubleſome: I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that he which is king of all kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to poſſeſſe it, if not, I will iudge thoſe men worthy to be kings therof that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themſelues.

An Abstract taken

out of certaine Spanyardes Letters concerning Guiana and the Countries lying vpon the great riuer Orenoque: *with certaine reportes also touching the same.*

An aduertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstractes following are taken, were surprized at sea as they were passing for Spayne in the yeare 1594. by Captaine *George Popham*: who the next yeare, and the same that Sir *Walter Ralegh* discouered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the west Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two monthes after Sir *Walter*, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discouerie: hee made knowne and deliuered to some of her maiesties most honorable priuie Councell and others

others. The which seeing they confirme in some parte the substance, I meane, the riches of that Countrey, it hath beene thought fitte that they shoulde be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spaniardes seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before *Morequito* the Lord of *Aromaia*, and others there aboutes, which throughly vnderstoode them not at that time, whatsoeuer the Spaniardes otherwise pretend: Yet according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by *Gayworeco*, the sonne of *Topiawari* nowe chiefe Lord of the saide *Aromaia*, who was brought into England by Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and was present at the same possession and discouerie of the Spaniardes mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their Countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowne and hearde of their former cruelties vppon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there beeing tenne of them sent and imployed for a farther discouerie, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other manner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slewe them and buried them in the Countrey, so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniardes as come after. Other possession they haue had none since, Neyther doe the Indians meane as

they proteſt, to giue them any other. One other thing to bee remembred is that in theſe letters the Spaniardes ſeeme to call *Guiana* and other Countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueuo Dorado* becauſe of the great plentie of Golde there, in moſt places to be founde. Alluding alſo to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martines* to the greate Citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatiſe ſpecified. This is all I thought good to aduertiſe. As for ſome other matters, I leaue them to the conſideration and iudgement of the indifferent reader.

W: R.

Allonſo *his Letters from the* Gran Canaria *to his brother being commaunder of* S. Lucas, *concerning* El Dorado.

THere haue beene certain letters receiued here of late, of a land newly diſcouered called *Nueuo Dorado*, frome the ſonnes of certaine Inhabitantes of this citie, who were in the diſcouerie: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the ſaid *Dorado*, and that golde there is in great abundance, the courſe to fall with it is 50. leagues to the windwarde to the *Marguarita*.

Allonſos *letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of* S. Lucas *concerning the* Dorado.

SIrs, we haue no newes worth the writing, ſauing of a diſcouery lately made by the ſpaniardes in a new land called *Nueuo Dorado*, and in two daies ſailing to the windward of the *Marguarita*, there is golde in that abundace, as the like hath not beene heard of. We haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by ſome that were in the diſcouery, vnto their parentes heere in the City. I purpoſe (God willing to beſtow ten or twelue daies in ſearch of the ſaid *Dorado*, as I paſſe in voyag towards *Carthagena*, hoping there to make ſome good ſale of our commodities. I haue ſent you therewith part of the information of the ſaide diſcouery, that was ſent to his Maieſty.

Part of the Coppy that was ſent to his Maieſty of the diſcouery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of *Pato* otherwiſe called *Orenoque*, in the principall part thereof called *Wariſmero*, the 23. of Aprill 1593. *Domingo de vera* Maſter of the Campe and Generall for *Anth.*

de Bereo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our Lorde the King, betwixt the riuers of *Pato* add *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iland of *Trinedado*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Caranca* registe r for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawne together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and soldiers, and master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them; Sirs, Soldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our Generall *Anth. de Berreo*, with the trauell of 11 yeares, and expence of more then 100000. pesoes of Gold, discouered the noble prouinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado*: Of the which hee tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessary munition, he issued at the Iland *Marguarita*, and from thence peopled the *Trinedado*. But now they had sente me to learne out and discouer the ways most easily to enter, & to people the saide prouinces, and where the Campes and Armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I entend so to do in the name of his *Maiesty*, and the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, and in token thereof I require you *Fran. Carille* that you aide me to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the east, and the said *Master* of the Campe, the Captains and soldiers kneeled down and did due reuerence vnto the said crosse, and thereupon the Master of the Campe tooke a bole of water and dranke it of, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse of the ground, and the boughs of the trees saying I take this possession in the name of the king *Don Phillip* our master, and of his gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere that in these our actiõs was present the *Casique* or pincipal *Don Antho.* otherwise called *Morequito*, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our Lord the King, & in his name to the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*. And the said *Master* of the Campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the

Captaines

Captaines and ſoldiers ſaide that the poſſeſſion was wel taken, & that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whoſoeuer would ſay the contrary. And the ſaide maſter of the Camp hauing his ſword drawen in his hand ſaid vnto me, regiſter that art here preſent, giue me an inſtrument or teſtimoniall to confirme me in this poſſeſſion, which I haue taken of this land, for the gouernour *Antho. de Berreo* and if it be needfull I wil take it a new. And I require you all that are preſent to witnes the ſame, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the poſſeſſion of all theſe landes whereſoeuer I ſhall enter . Signed thus.

Domingo de vera *and vnderneath, Before me* Rodrigo de Caranca, *Regiſter of the Army.*

AND in proſecution of the ſaid poſſeſſion, and diſcouery of the way and prouinces, the 27. of April of the ſaid yere, the *Maſter* of the Campe entred by little and little with all the Campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the Inland, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderſtand by meanes of *Antho: Biſante* the Interpretor that his *Maieſty* & *Antho: de Berreo* had ſent him to take the ſaid poſſeſſion. And the ſaid fryer *Francis Carillo* by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain thinges of our holy Catholique faith, to al which he anſwered, that they vnderſtood him well and would become Chriſtians, and that with a very good wil they ſhould aduance the croſſe, in what part or place of the towne it pleaſed them, for he was for the gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, who was his *Maſter*. Thereupon the ſaid maſter of the Campe tooke a great croſſe, and ſet it on ende toward the eaſt, and requeſted the whole Campe to witneſſe it and *Domingo de vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done, and vnderneath, before me Rodrigo Caranca, *Regiſter of the Army.*

THE first of May they prosecuted the saide possession and discouery to the towne of *Carapana*. From thence the said Master of the Camp passed to the towne of *Toroco* whose principall is called *Topiawary* beeing fiue leagues farther within the land then the first nation, & well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the interpretor they gaue to vnderstand that his *Maiesty* and the saide *Corrigidor* commanded them to take the possession of that land, & that they should yeeld their obedience to his *Maiesty*, and to his Corrigidor, and to the *Master* of the Campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the midle of his towne. Whereunto the said *Cassique* answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our Lorde the King, and of the saide Gouernour *Antho: de Berreo* whose vassale he would be.

The fourth of *May* we came to a prouince about fiue leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and mette vs in peaceable manner: and hee is called *Renato*, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, & gaue vs much gould, & the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered from a prouince not passing a daies iourney off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sunne, and so much gold as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrie (when they enter into the *Borachera*) they take of the said gold in dust and annoint themselues all other therwith to make the brauer shewe, and to the end the gold may couer them, they annoint their bodies with stamped hearbs of a gluenous substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them they would ayd vs, but they were such infinite number as no doubt they woulde, kill vs. And being asked how they got that same gold, they told vs they went to a certaine downe or plaine and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote, which done, they tooke of the earth,

earth, putting in greate buckets which they carried to wash at the riuer, & that which came in powder they kept for their *Boracheras* & that which was in peeces, they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of *May* we went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a hill we founde a principall called *Arataco*, with 3000 Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as hens & venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house and to rest that night in his towne being of 500 houses. The interpretor asked whence he had those hens, he said they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that those men had the pointes of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heades, and had so many hens as was wonderfull, and if we would haue any we shoulde send them Iewes harpes for they woulde giue for euery one two hens, we tooke an Indian and gaue him 500. harpes, the hens were so many that he brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee said we woulde goe thither, they told vs they were now in their *Borachera* and would kill vs, we asked the Indian, that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their *Borachera*, he saide they had many Eagles of Gold hanging on their breasts & pearls in their eares, and that they daunced being al couered with Gold. The Indiã said vnto vs, if we would se thẽ, we should giue him some hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The *Master* of the Camp gaue him one hatchet (he would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke gold) he brought vs an Eagle which wayed 27 pounds of good Gold. The *Master* of the Campe tooke it, and shewed to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regarde it. About midnight came an Indian and saide vnto him, giue me a pickaxe and I will tel thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe, the Interpretor told the *Master* of the Campe who commaunded one to be giuen him, he

then told vs those Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the master of the campe caused his company to be set in order, and began to march. The 11. day of May, we went about 7 leagues from thence to a prounce, where we found a great company of Indians apparrelled, they tould vs that if we came to fight, they would fill vp those plaines with Indians to fight with vs, but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a greate desire to see Christians, and there they tould vs of all the riches that was. I doe not here set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goes to his *Maiesty*, for if it should here be set downe, fower leaues of paper would not conteine it.

The letter of George Burien Britton, *from the saide* Canaries *vnto his cosen a french man, dwelling in* S. Lucas, *concerning the* Dorado.

SIR, and my very good Cosen, there came of late certaine letters from a new discouered country not farre from *Trinedado*, which they writ, hath Gold in greate abundance, the newes seemeth to be very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Ci ty. Part of the information of the discouery that went to his *Maiesty*, goeth inclosed in *Alonsos* letters, it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo *Martines of* Iamica, *concerning the* Dorado.

HE saith that in 93 being at *Carthagena* there was a general report of a late discouery called *Nueuo Dorado*, and that a little before him comming thither, there came a *Frigot* from the saide *Dorado*, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47 kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idol. But nowe admitting of Christia-

nitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, sent their saide Idoll vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the saide *Frigot* reported Golde to be there in most greate abundance, Diamondes of inestimable value, with greate store of pearle.

The report of a french man called Bountillier *of* Sherbrouk *concerning the* Trinedado *and the* Dorado.

HE saith that being at *Trinedado* in 91. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pounde in exchange of a knife, the saide Indian told him he had it at the heade of that riuer which cõmeth to *Paracoa* in the *Trinedado*, but said in the riuer of *Orenoque*, it was in greate abũdance. Also in 93 being taken by the Spaniards; and brought prisoner into the Illand of *Madera*(the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a barke of 40 tunnes from a newe discouery, with two millions of Gold, the companie whereof reported Gold in that place to be in greate abundance & called it the *Nueuo Dorado*: This french man passed from Spaine in the barke, and hauing a cabben nere a gentleman, one of the discouerers that came from that place in the said barke had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other, things of the greate abundance of Golde in the said *Dorado* being as they said within the riuer of *Orenoque*.

Reports of Certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, *concerning the* Nneuo Dorado.

THey said(aduancing the kings great treasure in the *Indies*) that *Nueuo Reyno* yeelded very many Gold mines, & wonderful rich, but lately was discouered a certain prouinc so rich in

Gold as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called the *Nueuo Dorado: Anthonio de Berreo* made the said discouery:

The report of a Spaniard Captaine with Berreo *in the discouery of* Nueuo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the K. was in euery point truly said, that the riuer of *Orenoque* hath seauē mouths or outlets into the sea, called *Las Sciete bocas de drago*, that the said riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that *Antho: de Berreo* lay at *Trinedado* making head to goe to conquere and people the said *Dorado*.

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